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THE ALBANIANS
AND
THEIR TERRITORIES

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In this volume we are acquainting the reader with some of the more recent achievements of our Albanological sciences, about two of their more important problems which are closely linked together: the autochthony of the Albanians on the territories they inhabit to this day and the history of the formation of the Albanian people, and of their language and culture during the centuries of the Early Middle Ages. Among these studies, of particular importance are those dealing with the continuity of the presence of the Albanian population in Kosova during the 14th-15th centuries, which serve as incontrovertible proof of the autochthony of this population in its territories.

These studies have been carried out at different times by students of various scientific disciplines, based on the more recent archaeological, linguistic, ethnographic and historical material. They have been published in diverse scientific journals and publications. We are collecting them in this separate volume in order to enable the reader to find them more easily. In general, they are given in full, as they were published in different scientific organs, but in some cases passages which were not directly connected with the theme of this volume have been left out.

**ABOUT SOME QUESTIONS OF THE HISTORY
OF THE FORMATION OF THE ALBANIAN
PEOPLE AND OF THEIR LANGUAGE
AND CULTURE¹**

The problem of the formation of peoples and nationalities in the Middle Ages, as the basis of the modern nations, is one of the major and important problems of the historical sciences in general. The ethnogenesis of the Albanians, the formation of the Albanian nationality on an ancient ethnic base and with a language and culture of their own, is one of the central problems of the Albanological sciences in particular. Relying on the results of a work over many years, and on the scientific Marxist-Leninist methodology, we can say that our research in the field of history and archaeology, of language and the history of culture has achieved a number of valuable results, and in some fundamental works in the field of language and historiography, as well as studies in the field of the history of culture, it has worked out sound arguments which enable it to have its say in finding a scientific solution to this problem,

¹ Taken from «Historical Studies», no. 1, 1980, pp. 165-180.

which is as old as the Albanological sciences themselves. Our research in the fields of Illyrian and Mediaeval archaeology, the history of language and dialectology, ethnography, etc. has made important progress and secured important and weighty material in favour of our theses.

It must be said, however, that in none of these fields has this problem as yet become a central subject of independent studies, nor has it been studied either in its entirety or in its interconnections as a central subject of coordinated inter-disciplinary studies.

Our paper, presented in the form of some theses, pretends neither to say «the last word» on this problem nor to announce something fundamentally new in this direction. It is only the first attempt at presenting a synthesis of the results achieved in our country in different fields of scientific research, as well as arranging these results in an organic manner, as a whole, in their interconnection in the general historical context.

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The historian who studies the history of the Early Middle Ages of the Balkan Peninsula comes at the seemingly paradoxical conclusion that, proceeding from the sources of written documents at his disposal, he can form a clearer idea of the diverse new populations, which settled down more or less permanently in this region, than of the fate of the ancient autochthonous population during or following the great ethnic changes and upheavals from the first millennium of our era onwards.

Precisely because of the *impression* that there is a complete and more or less general break in the continuity of the ethnic evolution of the Peninsula, many contradictory hypotheses have been built about the formation of the different Balkan peoples, whether the question is about the descendants of ancient ethnic

formations, such as the Albanians, or about later formations on an ancient Balkan ethnic substrate, such as the Daco-Rumanians, or more recent ethnical formations, such as the various groups of Slav tribes which established themselves in the Balkans in this period.

The very logic of the historical situation makes it obvious why there exist written records about the various tribes, no matter how small, which settled on the territories of the ancient autochthonous populations, and this for the good reason that with their migrations, involving major destructions and changes, they posed a threat of a political and military character to the Byzantine Empire, while there is almost complete silence in the written records about the ancient local population, which, in these conditions, gave no cause to be mentioned separately from the mass of the population of the Empire which was the victim of these upheavals.

The same logic applied to historical facts should prevent us from jumping to the hasty conclusion, proceeding only from the fact that Latin and Greek were the languages of the inscriptions of the Late Antiquity found in the regions of Southern Illyria, that their inhabitants had been Romanized or Hellenized. The phenomena of acculturation which are still observed in some regions of Asia and Africa, teach us the lesson that we should not consider such processes as processes of *ethnic change*, but in the first place, as *processes of socio-cultural* developments. So, we must not look for ethnic Anglo-Saxons wherever English is taught, spoken and written as an official and cultural language.

From these historical circumstances, which must always be borne in mind, some fundamental methodological-methodical conclusions emerge for a truly scientific treatment of the problems which interest us. *First*, the Marxist-Leninist principle of the existence of «two cultures» in the culture of a class society teaches us that the culture of the upper classes is neither the only nor the first element of the *real* picture of the ethnic and cultural situation of a country in a given period of its

development. Likewise, the cultural level of a society cannot be assessed if the culture of the upper classes is considered separately from its dialectical links with the culture of the working masses, and vice-versa. *Second*, the processes of historical development prove the principle that the popular masses exercise a decisive influence on the process of historical development, as producers of material blessings, and through their socio-economic and political-ideological struggle against social and national oppression. Only by taking account of these factors can one explain why, even in the extremely difficult conditions created by the great migrations of foreign populations and the many-centuries rule of the universal empires of the Antiquity and the Middle Ages, the ethnogenesis of the Albanians, the formation and consolidation of the Albanian people as a higher ethnic-historical community, with its own language, culture and soil, and with features which characterize them as a distinct nationality, went ahead and developed without interruption, as a process developing according to the general objective laws of history.

«Many great peoples, not to speak of smaller ones,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «have disappeared in the course of the centuries, have been assimilated by other peoples, or have wholly embraced the culture of greater peoples... History records many such facts. The survival of the Albanian people, as well as the fact that we are here, that our language, our original and very interesting art, music and customs have been handed over intact from one generation to another, proves that we are an ancient and indomitable people.»²

One last methodical conclusion: in the socio-historical and cultural conditions that characterized the Albanian territories in the Middle Ages, in reconstructing the process of ethnogenesis of the Albanians, we cannot rely mainly on *written* sources, or on the major monuments of official culture which belong to a definite and limited

2 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 17, p. 482, Alb. ed.

social sphere; we must base ourselves on the sources of the material and artistic-spiritual culture of the popular masses and on their language which represent the main distinctive ethnic features. As a consequence, neither history as a science built on written documents, which in the particular socio-political conditions of the Middle Ages could only come out from chancelleries or other public institutions, nor the history of culture, as far as it deals with the «upper culture», but archeology, the history of language, dialectology, onomastics, ethnology, ethnography and folklore, anthropology, etc., can and must have the main say on the problems interesting us. Each of them must contribute with their respective material to the elucidation of this problem, which is as important as it is difficult and complicated, while always coordinating its work and the results of it with those of the sister sciences. Only then will history, as a science in the meaning the Marxist-Leninist philosophy gives it, study and arrange these results organically as a whole, in their inter-connection with the general historical development.

In 1962 Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed the need for inter-disciplinary studies to solve this central problem of our national history, setting our historical sciences definite tasks for the solution of this important problem of our national history: «The ethnogenesis of the Albanian people is a problem as important as it is complex. The activation and collaboration of many scientific workers will be needed to solve it...»³

We must say that precisely the attempt at an inter-disciplinary approach to the problem of ethnogenesis, which although not yet carried through to the end, positively distinguishes our studies in this field from those undertaken by foreign scholars who have as often as not proceeded only from one aspect, either from written historical sources, or from language, while ignoring, even deliberately in certain cases, the important

3 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 23, p. 547, Alb. ed.

archaeological material our researchers have discovered.

G. Stadtmueller's⁴ first attempt at an inter-disciplinary, linguistic-historical and anthropogeographical approach to the problem, a path opened by N. Jokl prior to the Second World War, not only yielded no positive results, but must be considered a negative example which must not be followed in the solution of such problems. The course of G. Stadtmueller's failure lies not in the «non-recognition» of the eloquent archaeological material brought to light by our archaeologists, but, in the first place, in his wrong methodological-methodical starting point.

According to Stadtmueller, the ethnogenesis of the Albanians is a process which developed outside the laws of the normal socio-economic development, is not connected with a permanent territory, but is allegedly subject to biological laws, «demographic explosions», violent expansion. Those, in his view, are the factors which explain the formation of the Albanian people. Such views are characteristic not only of Stadtmueller, but also of other bourgeois-revisionist historians. In a number of cases, behind their arguments are hidden blatantly anti-Albanian political aims.



1) We deem it necessary, before setting out on the treatment of a number of problems which constitute, in our opinion, the key links of the whole problem of the ethnogenesis of the Albanians, to clarify some concepts and the terms related to them. First of all, we make it

4 G. Stadtmüller, *Forschungen zur albanischen Frühgeschichte*, 1st edition, Budapest 1941. Second edition provided with an additional introduction, but unchanged in essence, Wiesbaden 1966, pp. 29, 32, 37, 49, 61, etc.

clear what we understand with the term «people» as a historical socio-ethnic category.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism and more recently J. Stalin⁵ have pointed out the historical processes which led to the formation of the «people» (narodnostj = nationality) as a new historical category which preceded the formation of the modern nation. In this meaning, the people is not a mere continuation of the ethnos and a broadening of the tribal community characteristic of the Antiquity, but a qualitatively new socio-ethnic formation which emerges and develops on the basis of the class society, that is, breaking out of the narrow shell of the tribal society. This formation usually includes and assimilates people of different tribes and classes, which may not necessarily derive from the same ethnos, with similar features of language and culture. Here blood links are no longer in force, they are replaced by territorial-economic links which strengthen the consistency and cohesion of the community, although, in the conditions of the natural economy, their territorial extension is still limited.

In European history, the process of the formation of the people as a community of a new, higher type, develops in a differentiated manner. For the peoples which are the continuers of the ancient populations that knew the development of the slave-owning society, this process has its roots especially in the Late Antiquity and in the great socio-ethnic changes that characterize this period, whereas for the peoples which come from more recent ethnoses, it develops in the feudal Middle Ages. Characteristic of this process is the formation, at places earlier and at places later, of a more or less compact territory, with a population with more or less unitarian ethno-cultural features. In the conditions when its socio-economic, political and cultural consolidation

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5 J. V. Stalin, *Marxism and the Problems of Linguistics*, Tirana 1979, pp. 13, 28, Alb. ed.

enabled it to cope with the threat of internal and external disintegrating forces, this formation — «the people», embodies and develops further its distinguishing unitarian ethno-cultural features, and constitutes the nationality as the forerunner of the modern nation, with the regions in which the people was formed and the nationality crystallized constituting its national territory.

The historical experience shows that the «populations» of tribal federations are formed on the basis of one *ethnos*, while, on the other hand, several *peoples* (several of them in the case of the Germans and the Slavs, but only one in the case of the Illyrians!) are formed on the basis of tribal federations; besides not any people continues to exist (in conditions of lacking cohesion it may disintegrate and disappear, as in the case of the Goths in Italy) and to consolidate its features as a distinct nationality (in the case of the Illyrian one people forms a nationality — the Albanians; some German peoples constitute a nationality in the case of the Mediaeval Germans).

Finally some particular nations (the different Arab nations, the Austrian nation, etc.) can also be formed on the basis of their economic-territorial unity.

The language, the material-spiritual culture, the way of life of this higher socio-ethnic and territorial community preserves a number of elements from the tribal culture, but is, regardless of it, something new and distinct. Independently from the class difference in its midst, this culture has in common not only the language and other elements and features of the form, but also a number of elements of the content, such as psychological peculiarities and characteristics of the way of life, motivations which stem from the historic conditions which determine the particular historical road of the people in its entirety.

The culture of the people, which emerges from a definite ethnic tradition, develops further, assimilating, in the new socio-historical conditions, new and more advanced elements; with its specific forms and content it

constitutes the characteristic features of the culture of the later nation.

Along with fundamental common features characteristic of the whole Albanian territory, in this people's culture there are also peculiarities which are explained with physical-geographical diversities of terrain, with links based on the continuity with foreign ethnic-cultural regions and with differentiated socio-economic development, all of which bring about ethnographic changes in the common people's culture.

By its very class character, the people's masses, as the creators of this culture, and not the ruling classes, play the main role in this field; the latter, even when they emerge as carriers of progress in the material culture and the cultural-artistic creativeness, in the way of life, etc., because of their class character, have the tendency to drift apart from the ground of people's culture.

2) Leaving aside the problems linked with the genesis of the Illyrians and the development of their society and culture, the problem of the ethnogenesis of the Albanians is based on the thesis that Southern Illyria, with which the present-day Albanian-inhabited territories more or less coincide, was characterized by a high level of economic, social and cultural development before the Roman occupation; here the more important slave-owning political formation of the Illyrians, by uniting the more advanced Illyrian tribes and regions in one state in the course of some centuries, paved the way for a converging process which continued to operate also after the Roman occupation. So a unity was formed within the broad Illyrian diversity of individual ethnic-linguistic and cultural features. The process of the ethnogenesis of the Albanians takes place on this ground.

3) The phenomenon of acculturation, which developed in Southern Illyria within the framework of the Late Roman Empire, was limited and differentiated according to the social status and, to a certain extent, the geographical position of the population subject to the Romans. With the resistance of the exploited masses, assimilation could

not lead to the mass Romanization of the language and culture of the Southern Illyrians although, through their constant contact's with the culture of the Roman Empire, they adopted new elements which enriched their local material and spiritual culture, but without bringing about any fundamental change or alteration of its unitarian character. As a matter of fact we know of no region in Southern Illyria which has reacted differently to the influence of Roman culture. The influence of the Latin on the Albanian also shows that the local language, regardless of the Latin loan words in its vocabulary, was already crystallized in its fundamental grammatical structure so as to respond as an already formed and separate entity to the influence of Latin. In the same manner as to the influence of Latin, the Albanian was to react to the influence of the Slav languages, unlike the other ancient Balkan languages which found themselves in a similar condition — the Old Dalmatian and the Dacian.

In the material and social and spiritual culture of the regions of Southern Illyria there are, especially in the culture of the lower strata of the population, elements, features and tendencies which were inherited from the pre-Roman period and which underwent a revival in the conditions of the grave socio-political crisis of the Roman slave-owning order. They constitute the distinguishing features of the so-called «provincial culture» which lived on from the 6th to the 7th century in this area, while being at the same time an important component of the later Mediaeval formations. In these conditions there can be no question of a break in the ethnic-cultural continuity of the Albanians.

4) The discovery of the Arbër culture of the Early Middle Ages, which testifies to the continuation and further development of the late provincial culture on the basis of its pre-Roman elements, shows the enlivenment of the local artisan production in the period of transition to feudalism. It also shows the unitarian features of the culture of this period which extended in time as far as the beginning of the second millennium of our era,

and included such regions as Montenegro, Dardania, Macedonia, Epirus and Corcyra etc.⁶

The thesis of the ethnic-cultural continuity is also borne out by the fact that the major urban and rural settlements, fortified centres and cultural monuments of the Late Antiquity continued to exist well into the Early Middle Ages not only topographically, but also toponymically, whether directly or indirectly, as «metastases» (displacements) of dwelling centres along with the new foundations of this period.

The fact that the toponymy (including names of urban centres) and the hydronymy of the Albanian territories coincides by and large with the Arbër settlements of the Early Middle Ages carries particular weight and shows that these names have been in uninterrupted use among an Albanian-speaking population, as their evolution is subject to the phonetical laws of the Albanian.⁷

These data allow us to define in general outline the territory in which the Albanian people and their language were formed on the basis of the former Illyrian ethnic stratum in the Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, a territory against which the present territories of the Albanians are, to a certain extent, the result of involution, not expansion, an involution which occurred because of known historical reasons, such as foreign invasions and rule and their consequences. The Illyrian Albanoi mentioned by Ptolemy lived in the Late Antiquity in

6 S. Anamali, *On the Ancient Culture of the Albanians*, «The Illyrians and the Genesis of the Albanians», 1969; S. Anamali, *From the Illyrians to the Arbërs*, «Convention of Illyrian Studies», 1972.

7 E. Çabej, *The Problem of the Autochthony of the Albanians in the Light of Place Names*, «Bulletin of Social Sciences», 1958, p. 2; E. Çabej, *The Ancient Habitat of the Albanians in the Balkan Peninsula*, «Bulletin of Social Sciences», 1962, p. 1; E. Çabej, *The Problem of the Territory of the Formation of the Albanian Language*, «Convention of Illyrian Studies», 1972.

the same regions as the Albians who emerge in documents of the Early Middle Ages (11th Century) as the inhabitants of the country.

All these arguments refute the theses according to which the autochthonous ancient population of Southern Illyria disappeared as a result of Romanization. One of these theses claims that only some small shepherds' communities in remote mountain regions could have escaped Romanization, while others try to argue that the migrations of the barbarians, especially the Slavs, allegedly created a new ethnic-cultural situation in the present Albanian regions and, as a consequence, the forefathers of the Albanians must be considered to have come together with the Slav migrations, if not after them, to their present territories, where they spread and eventually Albanized the Slavs they found there.

5) Archaeological research carried out in our country shows that evidence of the presence of a Slav culture, which is supposed to have originated from the Slav migrations of the 6th and 7th centuries, is scanty, isolated and limited in time. The Slav culture in the Albanian regions could not exist independently from the Arbër culture of the Early Middle Ages. The material from the Slav culture belongs to later times and is linked with the conquests of the Bulgarian and Serb states in the 9th-10th centuries.

Although part of the Slav immigrants withdrew from the Albanian territories with the cessation of the major migration waves, the existence of Slav settlements in Albania, just as in Greece, Rumania and other places, cannot be denied; evidence of them are Slav borrowings in the vocabulary of the Albanian, as well as the place names of Slav origin in many regions of the country. However, it must not be forgotten that part of them belongs to later times and is connected with the conquests and rule of the Slav states in Albanian territories, which in some cases went on as far as the 15th century.

Evidence of this fact, among other things, is that in a number of cases the toponymy of administrative

divisions and villages is not Albanian. This is connected with the work of foreign administrative and military state apparatus, behind which, however, there was no ethnic reality. On the other hand, microtoponymy is Albanian, being related to the indigenous population which kept it in constant use.

These transient Slav settlements were assimilated because the immigrants found themselves in conditions of numerical and cultural inferiority to the ancient autochthonous population, the carrier of a provincial culture which it had inherited from the Late Antiquity and which stood at a higher level of development.

6) The contacts of the Albanian with the Slav languages, a reflection of these historical circumstances, are not of a merely local and dialectical character, limited to the periphric areas of the Albanian speaking territory. On the other hand, however, among other loan words in the lexical fund of common Albanian, Slav borrowings are more limited, less deep-going and less general. This is evidence of the limited intensity of these contacts. In the historical period when the influence of the Slav languages began to make itself felt, the formation of the fundamental grammatical structure of the Albanian and the phonetic changes, which gave the words borrowed from Latin Albanian features, were already accomplished. Slav borrowings were subject to the unitarian process of an already-formed language, which is evidence of the ethnic-cultural unity of the ancient indigenous population.

Archaeological evidence on the development of agriculture, handicrafts and urban life in the Illyrian-Albanian territories, including the mountain regions, both prior to Roman occupation and during the Early Middle Ages, refutes the allegation which has no scientific bases, although it has been much abused, according to which Albanian borrowings of a number of terms of the sphere of agriculture and handicrafts, as well as social life and law, allegedly prove that the Albanians together with the words have also borrowed the related objects and concepts which were formely unknown to them, that is, that

only after their contacts with the Slavs did the Albanians settle down to sedentary agricultural life.

Socio-linguistics has already explained the mechanism operating in cases when several languages come in contact in the conditions of the socio-political predominance of one of them within the framework of a state. In these conditions a multilingual population borrows from the dominant language, which is used for the needs of communication, not only terms from the sphere of social life and law, as well as from the sphere of state, military and church administration, but also from the sphere of material culture and everyday life. In this case, the terms are about objects and concepts which, of course, are known, but which must be distinguished in their different shades of meaning and functions; they may be terms derived from older terms and concepts, broader and more general, or words which have assumed a peculiar emotional loading in the new historical conditions. The German borrowings in Mediaeval Italian are an example in this direction, although it is absurd to think that the objects and concepts, for which alien words were borrowed, were until then unknown to the Romans.

7) The 7th-12th centuries constitute a key link in the history of the socio-economic and ethnic-cultural development of the Albanian people.

Archaeological-ethnographic data, supplemented with historical documents, prove in a convincing manner that the process of the ethnogenesis of the Albanians, the formation of the Albanian people does not take place in conditions of stagnation or socio-economic retrogression but in conditions of relative development, despite the difficult conditions caused by the great and destructive invasions on the eve of the Early Middle Ages. Archaeological finds stretching over a vast territory prove the extension of the cultivated land and the existence of a sedentary population which had gone through a socio-economic differentiation, practiced agriculture and handicrafts, lived in ancient and new settlements of the urban type the Albanian ethnic character of the population of

which cannot be put in question (see, for example, the town of «Kruja», whose name is documented as early as the 9th century).

The socio-economic differentiation which goes on constantly deepening among the territorial agrarian communities led, on one hand, to the crystallization and strengthening of the local feudal class as the ruling class and, on the other, to the ever broader transition of the individual peasants under the dependence of different feudal lords.

The feudal possessions with their territorial bases, the expropriation of the peasants and the severing of their links with the peasant communities involved the further decay of the tribal-familiar links which were preserved in the peasant communities in the forms of leftovers from the past and the further mixing of the local population. The constant migration of the population of the mountain regions, in which farm land was not sufficient to ensure the food for the ever growing population, to the hills and the plains also contributed to the development of this phenomenon.

With the extension of feudal exploitation, the products of the growing feudal rent are gradually included in the sphere of the internal and external trade of the coastal towns of the country. Despite the obstacles characteristic of the natural economy of feudalism, the network of commercial exchanges extends throughout the country, which leads to the intensification of contacts among different regions as well as between the city and the countryside. The fact that a number of important transversal routes from West to East (along which, even in the tracts crossing mountain regions, a rich numismatic material has been found) passed through Albanian territories has played an important role in this connection. Although there is a rich numismatic material also from previous centuries, these money finds become more frequent from the 9th century onwards.

8) In the new conditions the culture of these centuries develops as a culture of the popular masses and a

culture of the ruling classes both in their distinctions and their dialectical relationship.

In this period, proceeding from what it has inherited from the Antiquity, the popular culture is consolidated and developed further enriching itself with new elements and in active contacts of exchange with the cultures of the contemporary world (Byzantium and the neighbouring regions and populations of the Adriatic and Balkan basin), and crystallizes those characteristic features which are known as the fundamental components of our present-day popular culture (the characteristic material, artistic and spiritual culture with its dresses, ornaments and colours, its music and dances, its mythology and creations in the various genres of popular poetry, its institutions of popular law, etc.).

Manifestations of conservation, continuity and innovation are also found in the culture of the ruling classes. The many monuments of civil, military and religious architecture which continue from the Late Antiquity, the so-called «palaeochristian period», well into the Middle Ages, prove the continuity of tradition also in the culture of the ruling classes, a tradition which was not interrupted even in the conditions of the great ethnic and cultural changes that took place in the Balkan Peninsula in the Early Middle Ages. Along with unitarian features which characterize civil and religious buildings, paintings, manuscripts, embroideries, and music of the so-called Byzantine style in the general context of the Empire, characteristic features emerge in a regional context and they prove the autonomous development assumed by activities in the sphere of the culture of the ruling classes in the peculiar conditions of this region, as a result of the activity of local masters and regional workshops, which succeed in creating their own tradition in the art of building, in the decorative plastic of architecture and in the painting of the later period.

The thesis that the habitat of the early Albanians should be considered a country closed and isolated geo-

graphically and backward economically and culturally, compared with the other regions of the Adriatic and Balkan basin, cannot stand in the face of these facts.

9) In the conditions of predominance of the natural economy and feudal fragmentation, its consequence, economic and political contacts are realized first within territorial units still limited and relatively small, such as «regions» and «lands», geographic, ethnographic and administrative units which we find mentioned in our country from the 9th century onwards (in Devoll, Mokër, Pult, Kunavi, Mat, Kurelej etj.), denominations which now replace the names of the ancient Illyrian tribes and their tribal territories.

The disappearance of these names from historical sources as early as the 4th-5th centuries of our era does not mean that the Illyrians disappeared or were assimilated before this time and, consequently, did not take part in the formation of the later Albanians, but that they henceforth must be sought in the inhabitants of the same country, with a new territorial denomination which is no longer their old tribal name.

From now on the denomination of the «Albans», which emerges again in the 11th century, assumes a territorial character; it is no longer the name of a *tribe*, the direct continuer of the ancient tribe mentioned by Ptolemy and long ago merged with other tribes, but the name of the inhabitants of a territory (Arbanon, Arbën etc.) that has been given this name because the «Albans» of the Antiquity inhabited part of it. The central position of the territory of this former tribe, and the fact that the inhabitants of its territory, as they lived at the head of major transversal routes, had more frequent contacts with the other neighbouring regions and their inhabitants of the one language and culture explains the process which led to the extension of that name, from an ancient tribal name, to that of a name of a territory, which though initially of limited extension, eventually became the «national» name of all the territories of the one language and culture even beyond the territorial bounds

of the historical Arbën and, afterwards, of all people who had a common language and culture with the inhabitants of Arbën — proof of this is the use of the name Arbër, Arbëresh in the Albanian diaspora established in Greece in the centuries 13th and 14th, etc. (Cfr. by analogy the more or less similar process of the transition of the name «Frank», as a tribe name, to «Francia» as the name of the territory of the Franks or «French», as the name of a well-defined territory, despite the fact that the French were no longer Franks, until both names became general national names in the Late Middle Ages).

From foreign documentation, despite its limitations, we can follow the extension of the territorial name, which has proceeded very quickly compared with analogous cases, proving that there existed relatively favourable conditions for the development of this process.

As early as the 9th century we find the names «Arbanon» and «Arbanoi» first in Middle Albania, where they are still popular in a number of regions; in the 12th century we find them used for the mountain region around Vlora as well as for the two parts of the Pulti region, on the north of the Drin river. Between the 14th and the 15th centuries these names include most of the territories inhabited by Albanians today, and this despite the fact that both in South and North-east the foreign rulers had imposed foreign names for these regions, and the historical names of the Antiquity, preserved from the erudite tradition of historiography, such as Illyria and Epirus, for the Albanian-inhabited regions in general, are met with until late in diverse documents.

Seen in this context, the thesis of some old and new, especially Slav. historians, according to which the invasions of the Albanians and the Albanization through violence of the formerly Slav population of our country have allegedly led to the extension and generalization of these names, is devoid of all foundation. This is only a result of the normal and logical general socio-economic development of the country and its inhabitants, which is also reflected in ethnic processes.

10) The processes of converging ethnic development cannot fail to feel the impact of external factors, whether favourable or inhibitory, according to the case, such as the geographical milieu, which, on the other hand, is not decisive. Albania's plains and basins to the west and east of mountain ranges, its large transversal valleys have created favourable conditions for communication, while the rugged mountain terrain has interposed some obstacles for these processes, but also created favourable conditions for defence and ethnic conservation.

However, on the basis of archaeological findings and historical documents it can be safely said that until the 15th century the mountain regions were never isolated from the hilly and plain regions around them, as would occur later. There have been of course, quantitative differences in the degree of economic and cultural development, as is only understandable for regions poorer and less accessible than the others, or presenting more difficulties of development with the means of the undeveloped farming of the time. In their internal social development the mountain regions were at the stage of an early feudalism, although comprised in the feudal order of the adjacent territories of which they were a part. There is no evidence of the existence of mountain tribes as independent social, territorial and political organisms. The names of most of the later tribes in the 15th century appear only as names of villages, which means that their inhabitants were organized according to the territorial principle. The system of autonomous tribes, which we know to have existed in the mountains of Northern Albania, is a phenomenon which appears from the 15th century on, in the conditions of the Ottoman occupation, when the mountain zones isolated themselves in their struggle against the aggravated feudal exploitation brought along by the new rulers. In these conditions mutual solidarity based on links of relationship assumed increased importance, which brought about their preservation and consolidation in the framework of the tribal communities («tribes»), always, however,

on the basis of their own territories, in which communities exercised the right of supreme ownership, while not affecting the right of private ownership of individual families, and thereby creating the conditions for a constant economic and social differentiation.

Therefore, it is inaccurate to consider these new historical formations as the uninterrupted continuation of the order of the primitive community in these regions, as it is just as improper to generalize these zonal phenomena as forms of social organizational characteristic of the entire Albanian people over their whole history, thereby dividing, in a simplistic manner, their ethnic development in three periods: the period of the Illyrian tribes, that of the Mediaeval tribes and that of the tribes of the 16th-20th centuries.

11) The factors which operated towards converging-unitarian development on the basis of the common ethnic legacy and towards the unification of the national denomination of the territory and its inhabitants, also influenced the course of the converging unitarian development of the Albanian language, as the first and principal distinguishing criterion of the Albanian ethnos and popular culture in general.

The economic development, the blurring out of distinctions among tribes and their dialects, the creation of larger territorial units, which begins in the Early Middle Ages, found its reflection in the formation, on the basis of tribal dialects, of some groups of dialects with specifically unitarian features which we may describe as territorial dialects. Regardless of a number of peculiarities which distinguish them from each other, they have the same fundamental features in phonetics, vocabulary and grammatical structure. These territorial dialects constitute a higher historical stage, in which the Albanian language is realized and exists in this period. The two principal groups of these dialects, the northern and the southern one, in the phase in which they are documented in writing, in the 15th-16th centuries, appear to have such similarity as to enable the conclusion, on the one hand,

that the legacy, the common basis of these two principal dialects, was very much the same and, on the other hand, that the socio-historical circumstances, regardless of difficulties, favoured the unitarian evolution of the main dialects of the different Albanian territories.

Without doubt, here too, along converging tendencies, there was a number of diverging tendencies which, to a certain extent favoured the preservation of the peculiarities, as well as the independent development of these dialects. It must be said, however, that this diverging development becomes more pronounced when the Ottoman occupation brings about an interruption in the course of the normal historical development of our people.

12) The process of the formation of a people, a language or a culture, in general, takes place in more favourable conditions when it develops within the framework of a state with a population ethnically homogenous and politically independent. In these conditions the social-economic and political differentiation proceeds at higher rates and this enables the strengthened local exploiting class to set up its own state apparatus and carry out its internal function more effectively, to extend its class rule to broader regions of the same population, in the first place.

This process develops in our country with the formation of the feudal state of Arbëria in the 12th-13th centuries in Middle Albania, with the emerging of the feudal principalities in the 14th century and the expansion of the sphere of operation of the main cities of the country, etc. The strengthening of the local feudal class, which developed along with the increased influence of economic factors, assisted, in Albania, too, the formation of larger territorial, political and, to a certain extent, economic regions. It favoured a converging ethnic, cultural and language development in regions larger than the geographic-ethnic regions formed on the basis of some peasant communities. On the other hand, this state apparatus enabled the local ruling class to exercise an

external function, too, to defend these regions and their population from the attacks and plunder of the foreign invaders and, through this, to ward off the disintegration of the already formed units as well as the threat of their ethnic and language assimilation.

The positive impact of this political-state factor, although contradictory, as originating from the state of an exploiting class, could not fail to make itself felt also in the history of our country. However, the fact must be taken into account that our country was in very difficult conditions as far as the strengthening of a unitarian, independent and stable political power was concerned, as it was situated, both in the Antiquity and in the Middle Ages, in the zone of the political interference and conquests of the «universal empires» of the West and East and the Mediaeval Balkan states as well as the pressure of the «universal cultures» they represented.

In these conditions, the regions inhabited by the Albanians had to live for many centuries under the rule and in the framework of foreign states, even included within several states at the same time. Against this fact which made the process of unification of the Albanian people more difficult, although not impeding it, there were other factors that favoured it. In the historical circumstances created, for example, by the many-centuries long domination of the feudal Byzantine Empire and, later, the Ottoman Empire, a position of socio-political forces emerged which counter-posed the masses of the Albanian people, mainly the peasants, *in all the regions of the country* to the central state power, which was their ruthless exploiter. Without doubt, this irreconcilable class contradiction was among the more effective factors which objectively enabled the strengthening of the cohesion and consolidation of this formation and prevented its disintegration or assimilation even when the local ruling class maintained a wavering stand towards the foreign rule.

This social factor, that is, the peasant masses, which in fact represented the people as a whole, in the 12th-

13th centuries as in the 15th century was impelled by its own vital interests to defend itself from foreign plunder and exploitation; that is why it lent effective support to the political struggle which was led by that part of the local ruling class which was determined to defend its rule as an independent ruling class against the foreign invaders and, because of this, took important steps for the strengthening and centralization of the feudal state with Scanderbeg at the head.

The popular masses were the main and decisive social factor which, with their all-round and protracted resistance, expressed and strengthened this political and cultural unity, especially if we take account of the fact that the higher classes, in the specific conditions of the country, in some cases grew and strengthened under the aegis of the universal empires, so much so that when they did not withdraw from the political arena under the threat of the Ottoman aggression by fleeing the country, they integrated themselves politically and, to a certain extent, also culturally into, and in some cases, were even assimilated ethnically, by the Ottoman ruling class.

These and other arguments prove the baselessness of the views to the effect that the lack of «a unitarian and independent national state» as an operating factor in Albanian Mediaeval history allegedly makes it impossible to speak about the existence of the Albanian people as a «formation above tribes», because the existence of the state is supposed to be an indispensable condition for the formation of the nationality and, later, the nation — a thesis which, faced with the experience of history, even a number of bourgeois scientists were forced to abandon.

13) A factor which had a negative influence on the converging development of the Albanian people and their culture was the Church and the religious ideology. As a support of the feudal order in general, the Christian Church was the militant vanguard of the universal empires which, with their conquests, created for it the necessary terrain for its rule as a world ideological power.

The clashes of these churches, with their individual

ideological, cultural and political orientations, on the Albanian soil (later aggressive Islam, in the service of another just as aggressive power, was added to them) brought about the religious split of the Albanian people and their division into two and, later, three religions in enmity with each other, and created thereby new difficulties for the unitarian historical and cultural development of the Albanian people, while on the other hand facilitating foreign intervention. (In Bosna and Hercegovina the different socio-political development on the basis of individual religions led to the formation of distinct national communities, although the three of them relied on the one Mediaeval ethnic-cultural base!).

The common ethnic-cultural legacy, strengthened on the basis of a unitarian historical, economic and social territorial development, opposed the diverging operation of the religious factor. This does not mean that it left no traces, although its influence never succeeded in causing changes in the fundamental structure of the Albanian popular and national culture.

It is a known fact of the cultural history of the Middle Ages that such ecclesiastic languages as the Greek, the Latin and the Old Slav have served also as official written languages and vehicles of culture: the Turkish language played the same role later, although never succeeding in eliminating anyone of them or, even partially, the spoken popular language, which even in these conditions managed to become (at least as early as the 14th century!) a written language as well. In the sphere of the culture of the higher classes these religions left their traces in the architecture and painting of the Byzantine, Roman and Islamic-oriental styles.

The cultural community brought about by religion, although on a limited scale, in those regions in which the Albanian population lived together with an ethnically heterogenous population to which the ruling class, the state apparatus and the ecclesiastical and cultural institutions belonged, resulted in a number of cases in phenomena of ethnic assimilation, in particular processes of

Greek and Slav assimilation of the autochthonous Albanian population, as happened especially from the 13th century in the regions of present-day Northern Greece, Macedonia, ancient Dardania, Zeta (Montenegro). Ottoman historical documents of the 15th-16th centuries prove that the Albanian element in those regions was either partially on a retreat or hidden under Slav names, in the conditions in which the state apparatus and the institutions of the Church served as an effective means of cultural influence and assimilation. The process of Serb and Greek assimilation was to a certain extent opposed by the process of the Islamization of part of the Albanian population, but it continued until late for the other part which had remained Christian. It is clear that in these conditions the processes of assimilation had nothing to do with the numerical preponderance of the non-Albanian element, but with the political and social institutions in these regions.

However, even in these conditions it clearly emerges from historical documents that the Albanian ethnic element had a broad extension in the north-eastern, eastern and northern regions, which fully refutes the views that the Albanian element has allegedly invaded these areas, after its Islamization, with the support of the Ottoman regime.

14) A number of constant factors characterize the history of the Albanian people in the Middle Ages — the unity of language as an expression of ethnic unity, territorial unity, the community of material culture and ideology embodied in the spiritual culture of the popular masses. The results of these objective processes find their expression in the Albanians' awareness of their unity as the distinct unity of a people deriving from the same «tribe» and having the same history, the same customs and habits, the same interests, which on the other hand, is a subjective reflection (as given by M. Barletius in the 15th century) of the process of the formation of the Albanian nationality as the forerunner of the Albanian nation.

Without doubt, here is embodied the experience of the almost one-century long struggle of the Albanian people against the onslaught of the Ottomans, an event of incalculable consequences for the forming of the unity of the Albanian people.

This process finds its clearest expression especially in the time when the Albanians, formed as a distinct nationality, are involved in frontal mass clashes with «the foreigner». We do not dispose of official documents earlier than Barletius' works, but foreign documents enable us to carry further in time the expression of the awareness of the *foreigner* among the Albanians as a distinct and unitarian nationality, regardless of the regions in which they lived, of political or religious allegiance. As early as the 13th-14th centuries the same name «Arbëresh» is extended to all Albanians as members of a unitarian people, as a clearly distinct nationality with its own qualities, whether they live in Morea, Kosova, Macedonia, or Southern Dalmatia, and regardless of the Greek, Slav, Western or Turkish sources in which they are mentioned.

15) The new historical situation created with the many-centuries long Ottoman rule was unable to alter in essence the already crystallized fundamental physiognomy and ethnic-cultural structure of the Albanian people. Despite the influence of a number of diverging factors, which are connected with the negative consequences of the Ottoman rule (the strengthening of the natural economy in the Ottoman feudal-military system, the disintegration of the already formed larger economic and territorial units, their replacement with an administrative division which proceeded from military-political concepts intended to destroy the ancient political formations of the Albanian people and to include the Albanian population in ethnically heterogenous formations), the course of the unitarian political-cultural development whose carriers were the popular masses, which were frontally and en masse opposed to the exploiting ruling class of the Ottoman feudal lords, was not interrupted.

Nor could this situation be altered fundamentally by the fact that the Albanian feudal class, for the sake of its own interests, had integrated itself into the ranks the Ottoman ruling class in the 16th-17th centuries, or, on the other hand, by the «voluntary» Islamization of a great part of the population to avoid the fiscal burden — a situation that the foreign occupiers tried in vain to exploit as a means for the political and cultural assimilation of the Albanian people and, through it, to conquer the general resistance of the popular masses they came up against in the Albanian regions.

In this new situation the Albanians were forced to make all over again, but in new conditions and at more rapid rates, the historical road which they had traversed from the Early Middle Ages on, in order to liberate themselves from the heavy oppression and the merciless socio-economic exploitation, from a savage political-military rule, to emancipate themselves on the political and cultural plane, as a unitarian, autonomous people, as a distinct nationality, either within the Byzantine «universal empire», or within the Ottoman «universal empire», and their assimilating theocratic ideologies which recognised no nationalities.

The breaking out of the shell of the natural economy and isolation of the mountain regions, the restoration of the destroyed cities and the development of the monetary and commodity economy, the creation of large inter-regional markets and of semi-autonomous feudal state formations, the emergence of new social forces, such as the trading bourgeoisie, were major stages on this ascending road towards the consolidation of the Albanian nationality in the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, and prepared the ground for the new, capitalist social relations, for the unification of all the Albanian regions and of the Albanian people as a national economic and political-cultural unit.

This long historic process was not only a process of conservation, but also a process of development and all-round innovation; it was proof of the capacity and

creative economic, political and cultural potential of a people with ancient ethnical roots who, with a strong internal cohesion formed on the basis of objective laws, faced up to the most severe historical conditions, until, in the new conditions of the 19th century, an ethnic-social historical formation of a new, higher type, the formation of the Albanian nation, was achieved.

THE PROBLEM OF THE AUTOCHTHONY OF THE ALBANIANS IN THE LIGHT OF PLACE NAMES*

The question whether the Albanians are autochthonous or not, since Thunmann touched it on in 1774 and Hahn raised it on a larger basis in 1854, has been under constant study by both historians and linguists. However, so many opinions have been expressed in the more than one century long period since the publishing of Hahn's brilliant work to this day, that we deem it necessary to deal in brief with this problem once again. As we shall see, the opinions of the scientists are very divergent from each other and from the truth. That is why the historian of the Albanian language must take a stand towards them.

Norbert Jokl calls the problem of the autochthony of the Albanians the fundamental problem of the prehistory of the Albanian language. I think that the problem of the origin of the Albanians and the problem of their language are closely interconnected. So if the Albanians are autochthonous it ensues that they live in these regions

* Extract from the «Bulletin of the State University of Tirana», series of social sciences, no. 2, 1958, pp. 54-62.

at least since the Antiquity and are in essence the descendants of the Illyrians. While, on the other hand, if they are not autochthonous, there is no historical argument in favour of their Illyrian origin. As seen, this problem has importance for the whole history of the Albanians and, beyond it, also for the ethnography and palaeoethnology of the Balkan Peninsula.

Before approaching the problem, we must state clearly what we mean with the expression autochthony of the Albanians. Certainly it does not cross our mind that they have been autochthonous in all times, since the remotest periods of pre-history. This cannot be so, since, as all the other Indo-European peoples, the Albanians, too, have migrated to their present regions in ancient times. So the question is not about absolute but relative autochthony. Although this problem can in principle be examined beginning from the prehistoric ages (Bronze Age, Iron Age), nevertheless, considering it from the standpoint of language as well as in connection with data from prehistorical archaeology, for methodical reasons we shall pose the problem only within the following terms: have the Albanians been the uninterrupted inhabitants of these regions since Greek or Roman times or not? So this autochthony in historical times has concrete importance for the problem of the origin of the Albanians, because it is known that the Illyrian tribes lived in Albania since Greek-Roman times. Such a delimitation in time also applies to the theories which negate the autochthony of the Albanians and which also assume the Antiquity as their starting point.

The problem of the autochthony belongs both to the ancient history of the Albanian people and the history of the Albanian language, its prehistorical period. Both historians and linguists have dealt with this problem. Before we enter into detail and assess the opinions of scientists one by one, we shall say something about their stands towards this problem in general. For the scholars of the past century the thesis that the Albanians are autochthonous in Albania since the Antiquity was self-

understood, so was it accepted a priori. Opposite to it is the stand taken by many scholars and especially their new generation in this century. For some historians and many linguists the Albanians are not autochthonous. They have come to present-day Albania, according to some scientists, from more distant regions and, according to others, from nearer regions. The arguments they give in support of such a stand are rather of a linguistic than historical nature. The Albanian-Rumanian connections and the toponomastics of Albania are among their two principal arguments. The close connections of the Albanians with the Rumanians make one suppose that these two peoples have once lived in close vicinity in a region of the Balkan Peninsula. For many scientists this has occurred in an area between the present-day Albanians and Rumanians, somewhere in the centre of the Peninsula (Weigand proposes the triangle Nish-Sofia-Skoplje¹), so that the Rumanians, on one hand, are supposed to have lived more to the south-west and, on the other hand, the Albanians more to the east or north-east of their present territories. This, according to many scientists, is an argument that the Albanians have migrated to Albania in historical times.

As for place names, many scientists are of the opinion that, in their present form, place names known from the Antiquity in Albania do not prove the continuity of the Albanians in their present territories. The aim of this article is to examine this problem. First, however, we shall look at the stand of the different scholars to the question of the continuity of the Albanian element.

Thunmann and Hahn's opinion on this question is this: the Albanians live in the regions of the ancient Illyrians and there is no evidence of their having come later there; therefore they are autochthonous and in essence the descendants of the Illyrians. Hahn, in particular, tried to prove his thesis with the means

¹ Balkan-Archiv III (1927), p. 227, ff.

science had at its disposal in that time: on one hand, by connecting the information from the ancient classical authors with the present ethnographic situation of Albania, and on the other hand, by explaining a number of ancient names such as *Dalmatia*, *Ulcinium*, *Dardania* with modern Albanian. If we look at what Hahn did from the standpoint of the present level of science, we must admit that his work, despite its shortcomings, which are due to a large extent to the time in which he worked, remains on a whole valid to this day. Among the linguists who are for the Illyrian origin of the Albanians, Paul Kretschmer is the more prominent.² Pedersen notes that K. Pauli and H. Hirt accept a migration of Thracians which is supposed to have occurred in the Middle Ages, but of which there is no mention in historical documents.³ A similar stand is also maintained by the Italo-Albanian linguist Marco La Piana,⁴ who died in May this year (1958), as well as the Italian linguist F. Ribezzo.⁵ The historian Milan V. Šufflay is also a supporter of the thesis of the autochthony of the Albanians. According to this scientist, even if we had no evidence like that of Ptolemy about the tribe of the *Albanoi*, the traces of the Latin in the Albanian would be sufficient to locate the habitat of the Albanians on the Adriatic coast.

Let us now see what those scientists, who believe that the Albanians are not autochthonous but newcomers, say.

According to Karl Jireček⁶ the half-Romanized Illyrians in the time of the people's migrations were pushed

2 «Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache» (1896) 262 and ff.

3 «Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung», p. 36, 299.

4 «Studi linguistici albanesi», I (1939), p. 155.

5 «Rivista d'Albania», I (1940), p. 121 and ff., II (1941), p. 341 and ff.

6 «History of the Serbs», I (1911), p. 152.

towards the south from a mountain region between Dalmatia and the Danube. However, in an earlier work published in 1979⁷ this historian is of the opinion that the Albanians are autochthonous: «The Albanians of the Early Middle Ages were a half-Romanized autochthonous population, a people of war-like mountaineers. While in the other regions of the Roman Empire the local population was gradually Romanized, the inhabitants of the Albanian mountains by the end of the Antiquity stopped half-way in their process of Romanization.» Kr. Sandfeldt seems to support this opinion.⁸

The Rumanian scientists in particular have dealt with the problem of the autochthony of the Albanians and this is understandable: the problem of the cradle of the Rumanian people is also closely linked with the problem of the Balkan cradle of the Albanians. In general, the Rumanian scientists think that the Albanians are newcomers in Albania. According to Vasile Parvan⁹ (1910) the Albanians left a territory to the north-east of the Carpathians between the 3rd and 6th century of our era, migrated through Transilvania in south-western direction and as nomadic herdsmen entered gradually, without being noticed, the regions to the south of the Danube. S. Puscariu has tried to support this thesis with linguistic arguments, while L. Spitzer¹⁰ has opposed it. Among the linguists, Theodor Capidan,¹¹ proceeding from only linguistic evidence, comes to the conclusion that the Albanians have formerly lived in the northern part of the Balkan Peninsula. A. Procopović¹² thinks more or less the same. According to Alexander Philippides¹³ the

7 *Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosmen während des Mittelalters*, p. 16.

8 «Linguistique balkanique», p. 143 and ff.

9 «Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil. Beihefte», p. 27, 61.

10 *Mitteilungen des Rum. Instituts*, Wien I (1914), p. 292 and ff.

11 «Dacoromania», II (1922), p. 487 and ff.

12 *ibidem*, IV (1924-1926), p. 38 and ff.

13 «Origine Rominilor», II, p. 800 and ff.

Albanians have come from Pannonia. In this connection the more objective stand of Al. Rossetti¹⁴ must be noted.

H. Barić thinks that the Albanians have come from the Balkan and the Rodope mountains¹⁵ and Weigand, as said above, believes that they have come from the tringle Nish-Sofia-Skoplje. A. Dabinović also denies without any reason the autochthony of the Albanians¹⁶. The ethnographer H. Erdeljanović,¹⁷ in particular, has expressed himself against the theory of Weigand. This scholar notes that Weigand's opinion about the great migrations of the Albanians has no document in its support. On the contrary, the great differences between the Tosks and Gegs in language, customs, etc. prove that the Albanians live in their territories from ancient times.

Norbert Jokl's opinion on this question is of particular importance. The middle stand taken by this scholar in the question of the origin of the Albanian language is well known: his stand in the question of the autochthony of the Albanians is similar. Jokl leans towards Hahn and is against Parvan and Weigand, so he is for the autochthony of the Albanians. However, he modifies somewhat Hahn's theory to the effect that the Albanians, true, are autochthonous, but not precisely in present-day Albania, but somewhat more to the east. How does this student look at this question? Jokl proceeds from some premises of a linguistic character: Albanian toponomastics disproves the continuity of the Albanians in the regions they inhabit today; he notes that the terminology of fishing is mostly foreign, etc. According to him, from all these elements it emerges that the country in the Balkans in

14 «Istoria limbii române», III, p. 34 and ff.

15 «O uzajamnim odnosima balkanskih jezika», I, p. 27.

16 «Slavonic and East-European Review», p. 26, 393 and ff.; cfr. Jokl, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Jahrbuch XXIV, VII, p. 26, 27.

17 «Makedonski Srbi», p. 19 and ff.

which the Albanians lived is not identical with their present-day regions, the Adriatic coast was not part of the Albanian habitat in ancient times. So a place where the Illyrian met with the Thracian, a place within the sphere of Romanization comes into consideration as the cradle of the Albanians in the Balkans. Apart from this, this place must be sought near the cradle of the Rumanians, and not far away from the influence of Greek, but not, however, outside its sphere. Proceeding from all these premises Jokl comes to this conclusion: the ancient cradle of the Albanians in the Balkans was Dardania.¹⁸ From here they migrated to the west, to their present regions, in the time of the Roman occupation and later. Based on historical toponomastics, he says that «the migrating Slavs found an Albanian population in the coastal regions near the Buna river».¹⁹ Recently this opinion has been supported by Barić²⁰ against Selishchev, in particular. The priority of this opinion appertains to Jokl, and what I. Popović²¹ has said to the contrary is not in the least convincing.

Petar Skok agrees to a certain extent with Jokl's opinion. According to this scholar, too, North-western Albania does not come into consideration as the ancient habitat of the Albanians and their cradle must be sought in Dardania²². E Durham²³ has also expressed himself for Dardania as the ancient cradle of the Albanians.

Max Vasmer²⁴ has some reservations to these theo-

18 Eberts *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* I (1924), p. 91 and ff. *Indogerm. Forschungen*, p. 44, 16, 46, 383.

19 *Indogerm. Forschungen* 50 (1932), p. 41 and ff.; *Slavia* XIII (134-135), p. 287.

20 *Introduction to the Study of the Albanian Language* (1950), p. 48.

21 «Jeta e re», (Prishtinë) VI (1954), p. 45.

22 «Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung», IV, p. 205.

23 In the journal «Man» 23 (1923), p. 39 and ff.

24 «Zeitschrift für slav. Philologie», V, 286 and ff.

ries. The historian Georg Stadtmueller,²⁵ in particular, has recently tried to refute Jokl's thesis. According to this scholar, Dardania cannot be the ancient cradle of the Albanians, because in Roman and early Byzantine times this region must have been totally Romanized. According to him the Albanians have coalesced into a nation in a country which, on one hand, was exposed to the influence of Dalmatia from where Christianity was introduced to Albania, and on the other hand, was not distant from the boundary of the Greek language. Northern Albania (the Mat region) is the place which meets these conditions. These regions, surrounded by high mountains, hence naturally defended against foreign influences, are the cradle of the Albanians. Here this people was formed and here they escaped Romanization. The Albanians were herdsmen living in the internal highlands from where they extended to the surrounding plains. Then, in the Middle Ages, they spread farther south, to Central And Southern Albania and later, to Thessaly and other regions of Greece. Against this thesis C. Tagliavini notes that it is based on negative arguments and has no positive argument to support it.²⁶

This is how the problem of the autochthony of the Albanians presents itself at the present state of knowledge. Examining all these arguments, we think that we must return to the old opinion of Thunmann and Hahn, who say that the Albanians are autochthonous. On the other hand, the theses of all those scholars who consider the Albanians newcomers in their present territories, whether from distant or nearby places, whether in the Antiquity or in the Middle Ages, seem to us to be wrong. It is true that the ancient history of Albania is shrouded in darkness. However, one thing is certain about all these theories: there is no document to prove that the Albanians have come to Albania from other parts of

25 *Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis* VII (1914), p. 33, 34, and ff. p. 94 and ff. p. 118, and ff.

26 «*Rivista d'Albania*», III (1942), p. 261.

the Balkans. So these theories, are, first of all, devoid of historical basis. Whereas on the other hand, the thesis of the autochthony of the Albanians, which was put forward by Thunmann and Hahn and later adopted by Kretschmer, need not be proved. Stadtmueller's opinion that the cradle of the Albanians must be sought in Northern Albania seems to us too narrow. The habitat of the Albanians at that time could not be so restricted. True, Northern Albania is part of the cradle of the Albanians, but not the whole of it. The ancient habitat of the Albanians must also have included other regions of Albania, the Central and Southern Albania. The present habitat of the Albanians is not an area of expansion but rather an area of restriction, the result of its ceaseless shrinking during the whole history of the Albanians.

As for the reasons of a linguistic character which are supposed to disprove the autochthony of the Albanians, we shall examine the main ones: those related to toponomastics. Of course, we shall not examine in detail this problem of great importance for the ancient history of the Albanians and their language, but shall see only what emerges from a cursory analysis.

A systematic collection and scientific treatment of Albanian toponomastics is lacking to this day. And, true enough, a great number of the known place names are of foreign origin. This, of course, is evidence of the different peoples that have lived in Albania; but it is also evidence of relatively new historical times or processes. These names do not give a precise answer to the question: are the Albanians indigenous or newcomers in their territories? In other words, these names do not tell us who has been first in this country. Hence, taking the map of Albania and, after finding a number of foreign names, without taking into account the time they belong to, saying, as Weigand did, that the Albanians are not the original inhabitants of this country, is methodically wrong. All place names cannot be considered in the same manner. Without some distinctions

of a chronological character no positive results can be achieved. In this sense village names say nothing about the ancient history of the country, and this for the simple reason that villages in the Balkans, and Albania is no exception to this, have a life of only a few centuries, so they are relatively new; with the uninterrupted wars that have taken place in these parts many villages have been destroyed and others set up. So village names cannot be very old. Cities are older, so their names must be older too. River and lake names in general constitute a particularly conservative group. It has been observed that they continue to exist even when a country changes its population; as a rule the new population adopts the names of the rivers from the former inhabitants of the country. Hence we can safely say that the names of rivers and their affluents constitute the more ancient stratum of place names. If we consider Albanian toponomastics from this aspect, we shall see that these criteria have not been taken properly into account by those scholars who have studied this question in connection with the problem of the autochthony of the Albanians.

We think that the method to be followed here is the following: we shall take the names of cities, rivers, mountains, etc. of ancient Albania which have come down to us from Greek and Latin authors. We shall compare them and see whether the present forms of these names are the continuation of their older forms in Albanian. In other words we shall see whether the alterations of the forms of present-day names as against their older forms are such as to infer that these names have gone through the language of the Albanians that is, Albanian, or through the language of another people? If these names are the continuation of the older names according to the rules of the historical evolution of Albanian phonetics, that is, if there exists an uninterrupted language tradition, then it is proved that the Albanians are autochthonous in their country since the Antiquity. If, vice-versa, the present forms of these names cannot be explained with the evolution of the Albanian, that is, if

Albanian historical phonetics do not apply to these names then the Albanians have taken them from the language of another people, which means that the Albanians are newcomers in their present territories.

From a comparison of ancient place names in Albania with their present forms and from a critical analysis of this material I have long since formed the conviction that these names prove the opposite of what some scholars have said, namely, that the habitat of the Albanians of the Antiquity was not the same as that of the Albanians of today. I think that the modern forms of these names can be explained only through the Albanian, because they have preserved the specific features of the evolution of this language. Without setting out on a historical-linguistic analysis of these names, but giving only the results of my own research, I shall examine here the following place names: apart from *Naissus*: *Nish*, which has been treated by N. Jokl, we have, among others, the equations *Scardus* mons: *Shar*, *Scupi*: *Shkup*, *Scodra*: *Shkodër*, *Lissus*: *Lesh*, *Drivastum*: *Drisht*, *Dyrrachium*: *Durrës*, *Candavia*: *Kunavja*; the following river names: *Drinus*: *Dri*, *Drin*, *Barbanna*: *Buenë*, *Mathis*: *Mat*, *Isamnus* fluvius (in Vibius Sequester): *Ishm*. Let us look at these equations more closely. In *Scardus*: *Shar* there is no Slav intermediary of a liquid metathesis, which, on the other hand, emerges in *Skradin* for *Scardona* in Dalmatia. As for *Scodra*: *Shkodër* Jokl says that this place name has not been used in Albanian speech uninterruptedly from pre-Roman time to this day, as its phonetical evolution does not coincide with that of the Albanian: the beginning of the name and the consonant group in the body of the word have undergone a treatment which is different from Albanian words with an uninterrupted tradition. Likewise, according to this scholar, the place name *Rogami*, *Rogame* (one near *Shkodra*, the other in the Upper Valley of *Valbona*, with another extended form-*Rogomana* in *Luma*), a name which also is found in Montenegro with the conservation of its intervocalic -g-, is evidence against the Albanian con-

tinuity in those parts.²⁷ In my opinion these two names do not prove what they are supposed to prove. As for Jokl's opinion that the initial consonants in *Shkodra* should have given *h* in Albanian speech as in other ancient autochthonous words of the Albanian (*hudhër* -gr. *σχόρδον*), it must be said that the change *sk* : *h* belongs to a very ancient period of the Albanian, before it came into contact with the Roman world, and in essence is a process which may have been in its completion phase as early as the time of the migration of the forefathers of the Albanians to the Balkan Peninsula. On the contrary, the transition of a form such as *Shkodra* of the Antiquity to *Shkodër* in our time, from the standpoint of Albanian phonetics, is regular, we find the same transition also in *Scup* : *Shkup*. As for the ending *-dër* of *Shkodër*, according to Pedersen and others, especially proceeding from the fact that the word *djersë* has come from a *swidrōtja*, *sviderōtja*, it is accepted that the group *-dr*, *-der* of Indo-European origin has been rendered with *-r* in Albanian.²⁸ However a phonetic reduction, evidence of which is only this word in a particular position and in vicinity of several consonants, is in my opinion, no convincing proof that the syllable *-dër*, *-dra* of *Shkodra* must necessarily have given *-rë* in Albanian speech. Besides, the phonetic evolution of the Albanian from the Antiquity to our times, as, for example in the word *kulshedër*, *kuçedër* which, as G. Meyer²⁹ observed, derives from lat. *chersydrus* -Gr. *χέρσυδρος* (cfr. also *balladër* «waterfall» which I derive from ancient Greek *βάραθρον* «chasm») proves the conservation of the group *-dr-* in Albanian. The name Rogame does not seem to me to disprove the continuity of the Albanian in these parts, either. With its different forms, this name may

²⁷ Eberts *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* I, p 85 and ff.

²⁸ «Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung» 36, p. 288.
«Philologie», II, p. 112.

²⁹ *Indogerm. Forschungen* 6, p. 107.

not be other than an extension through *-ame* of the word *rogë*, *rrogë* «grassy spot in the mountains» which Jokl himself has linked with the Old High German *riuti*, modern German *Route* «clearing»³⁰ and which I connect directly with the verb *rruaj*, as a formation with the suffix *-g*. To all appearances the name *rogë* is relatively new, and its further extension *Rogame* must be newer still. The history of the evolution of *rogë*: *Rogame* corresponds to that of *degë-degame* in Albanian. In both these extensions with *-ame* the intervocalic position of *-g-* is not too old, so this occlusive did not disappear in this position. On the other hand, after the research done by K. Mayer³¹ and Jokl himself³², it is known, that this disappearance has occurred in a very ancient time in the evolution of the Albanian, it belongs both to the Indo-European period, as well as the Roman and Slav period of the Albanian.

As for *Barbanna*: *Buenë* Jokl himself has proved the continuity in Albanian speech of this river name from the late Roman period on.³³ In the equation *Lissus*: *Lesh* the change of the short open *i* in *e* is just as regular as in the Latin borrowings *missa*: *meshë*, *litterae*: *letër*, *piscis*: *peshk*, *episcopus*: *ipeshkv*, etc. Proceeding further south along the coast we come to *Dyrrachium*: *Durrës*, for which a proparoxytonic base *Dyrrachium* and a *u* pronunciation of the stressed vocal must be imagined, as occurred in the north-western and Doric branch of the Greek to which the coastal colonies of Albania belonged in the Antiquity. The same accentuation as in *Dyrrachium* must also be imagined for the beginning of the word *Isamnus* as against modern *Ishm*. The same

30 «Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung», X, p. 188.

31 «Alb. Studien», III, p. 37,

32 *Indogerm. Forschungen* 36, 103; «Linguistisch-kulturhistorische Untersuchungen», p. 131 and ff, «Symbolae linguisticae Rozwadowski» p. 243.

33 *Indogerm. Forschungen* 50, p. 33 and ff., «Slavia» XIII, p. 286 and ff. «Glotta» XXV, p. 121 and ff.

applies to *Drivastum* : *Drisht*. The name of this ancient northern town, now a village, as Skok indicates³⁴, was pronounced *Drivastum* by the local people. This name emerges for the first time in the 8th century of our era, but its origin is in the Antiquity.³⁵ The present forms *Durrës*, *Ishm*, *Drisht* from *Dýrrachium*, *Isamnus*, *Drivas-tum* prove best H. Krahe's opinion that the Illyrian may have had an initial accentuation, the same as the common Italic and Keltic.³⁶ Cfr. *Brundisium*, today *Brindisi* in the territory of the ancient Messapians. These words have been proparoxytonic in Illyrian: with the fall of the end syllable they have become paroxytonic in Albanian.

Many cities have been destroyed in South Albania, as this region has been a place of transition for different peoples in all times. So we know that the Roman consul Paulus Aemilius razed to the ground more than 70 cities in Epirus in the year 168 before our era. Nevertheless, and despite the Slav (Bulgarian) migrations and their consequences, there is no lack of traces of the continuity of the Albanians in this region. Speaking about the coastal cities I do not think that it is quite sure that *Vlonë Vlorë* should have derived from the *Ἀύλων* of the Antiquity through a Slav transitional form, as Weigand thinks. More to the south we have, as Martin Leak³⁷ was the first to note, the name *Çamëria* which is the non-Greek continuation of *Thyamis* as the Kalama river was called in the Antiquity; so the region has assumed its name from the river that flows through it, just as, for example, *Matja* has derived its name from the *Mat* river. Likewise, the phonetic evolution of the name *Arachthos* : *Artë* is probably better explained by means of the Albanian rather than the Greek.

Through the names of these cities, rivers and moun-

34 Arhiv za arbansku starinu I, p. 10 and ff., p. 25.

35 Cfr. Sufflay, *Städte und Burgen Albaniens hauptsächlich während des Mittelalters*, p. 26.

36 *Indogerm. Sprachwissenschaft* (1943), p. 34.

37 *Researches in Greece* (1814), p. 13.

tains which extend from the north to the south, the continuity of the Albanian is proved precisely in the coastal zone of the country, a region which has been denied its Albanian continuity with particular persistence. The Albanians have never ceased living in these regions, despite their intermittent, so to say, periodical withdrawals into the mountain regions in the course of their history. As I have pointed out in another occasion, where I have also given the related literature³⁸, I think that the opinion of some scholars (Jireček, Bartoli, Šuflyay, Weigand, Skok, Stadtmueller and others), who claim that the coastal cities of Northern Albania were inhabited by a Roman population in the Middle Ages and that the Albanian element has penetrated into these regions only about the 14th century, must be revised in the light of these facts. The Albanian name of *Ragusa* (*Ragusium*): *Rush* (as Pjetër Bogdani writes in 1685, II 20/6) shows that the coastal regions of the Adriatic were part of the territory inhabited by the forefathers of the Albanians even beyond their present ethnic bounds: here, too, we have a regular evolution of the name of the city according to the historical phonetics of the Albanian (disappearance of intervocalic -g-, the ancient change of s to sh). This name has been in use amongst the Albanians since the year 614 of our era.³⁹

It must also be noted that for some of the place names we mentioned here there exist also Mediaeval intermediary forms, which link the forms of the Antiquity with the forms of our days. Thus *Ishmi* in 1302 emerges as *Ysamo* in the documents of the time and as *Isemi-Ishëmi* in Pjetër Budi in 1621. The name *Pulti* is recorded by the Byzantine chroniclers as *Πολάδιον* in the 9th Century and as *Puletti* etc. in the 17th century.⁴⁰

38 «Bulletin for Social Sciences», 2 (1955), p. 75.

39 Cfr. Jokl, *Slavia XIII*, p. 292, 644.

40 Cfr. my notes in the «Bulletin for Social Sciences», 1 (1956), p. 127.

The intermediary form of *Rausium* of the equation *Ragusium*: *Rush* is also found in Middle Latin.⁴¹

Those are some ancient place names of Albania which have importance in determining the autochthony of the Albanians. And if we think, on one hand, that most of those names have been lost in the course of centuries without leaving traces in the toponomy and, on the other hand, that the material of the Mediaeval archives has not been fully utilized, we must accept the fact that the place names by means of which we are allowed to operate are only what has remained of them in the course of centuries. Most of the names which the other scholars have brought forward as an argument against the continuity of the Albanians belong to a later historical stratum. They are only proof of foreign infiltrations into Albania. Without wanting to undervalue in the least the importance of this foreign influence, summing up a thesis which I hope to elaborate on in another occasion, I conclude that there is a continuity in the existence of the Albanians in their present territories dating at least from as far back as the Antiquity. In their present form, the ancient place names prove that this people lives on the Adriatic shores uninterruptedly from that time to this day.

⁴¹ Safarik quoted by Diefenbach, *Völkerkunde Osteuropas* II, p. 80.

**THE ANCIENT HABITAT OF THE ALBANIANS IN
THE BALKAN PENINSULA IN THE LIGHT OF
THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE AND PLACE NAMES***

The question where the Balkan cradle of the Albanians has been and, together with it, of where their forefathers have lived in the Antiquity constitutes a problem interesting both historians and linguists. For their part, because, as it seems, of the lack of sources about the ancient history of the Albanian people, the historians have long since left this problem to the linguists, who have taken it upon themselves to resolve this problem with their own means and methods.

For the older generation of scholars, with Johannes Thunmann (1774), Hahn (1854) and others, the Albanians are, for historical reasons, the autochthonous descendants of the Illyrians: this because they live there where the Illyrian tribes have lived in the Antiquity, the more so as, apart from the Slav migrations, there is no other migration to these regions recorded in later times.

* Extract from the «Bulletin of the State University of Tirana», series of social sciences, no. 1, 1962, pp. 219-226.

Linguists such as Kretschmer, Pedersen, Ribezzo and historians such as Milan Sufflay have supported the thesis of the autochthony of the Albanians with arguments of both a linguistic and historical character.

The thesis of the Thracian, not Illyrian, origin of the Albanian language, which emerged on the eve of the last century, brought, along with Karl Pauli and Hirt, the thesis of a more eastern origin of the Albanian people. However, for this thesis to stand the arguments for the autochthony of Albanians had to be refuted. And in absence of historical arguments, this was done by bringing forward a number of linguistic facts which were supposed to prove a migration of the Albanians from more eastern regions to the Adriatic coast in the end of the Antiquity, or in the Early Middle Ages. Among the supporters of this theory, Gustav Weigand has undoubtedly the merit of having considered the arguments in its favour in their entirety and analysed them in detail. Hence, discussion of Weigand's arguments means at the same time assessing the main theses of this direction of research. First of all, it must be noted that Weigand's line of thought can be traced back even earlier, especially in argumentations and conclusions found in Norbert Jokl and Petar Skok's works¹. However, about Jokl it must be said that in the assessment of the questions of the autochthony of the Albanians this scholar has undergone an inner evolution. While he was first of the opinion that a north-western location of the former area of the Albanian language does not come into consideration for a more ancient period, later, siding with the thesis of Jireček, according to which during the migrations of the peoples the forefathers of the Albanians were pushed from more northern regions to the south,² he arrives at the conclusion that, as early

1 *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* I, p. 91 and ff. *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung* IV, p. 205; *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 45, 180 and ff.

2 *Geschichte der Serben* I, 152.

as the Latin period, or at least at its end, the Albanians moving from the east, had reached the region of Prevalitana, that is, the north-western part of their present habitat, and that the «Slavs migrating to the coast found an Albanian population there in the vicinity of the Buena river.»³ Recently, H. Barić, too, has agreed with this conclusion.⁴

If we look at Weigand's theses more closely, we see that place names figure among his main arguments, and this in two aspects. First, according to him, «Latin place names do not present themselves in Albanian form, but in Latin-Dalmatian form». Second, «had the Albanians always lived in present-day Albania, place names deriving from the Antiquity would have gone through the phonetic evolution of the Albanian; however, it is immediately apparent that this is not so, because these place names have a clearly expressed Slav character, or an Italian-Venitian and Dalmatian character in the coastal regions».

Let us examine these theses in brief.

Weigand includes in the Dalmatian element of the Albanian toponymy the names *Valbona*, *Domni*, *Patosa*, *Surella*, *Kapra*, *Oblika*, *Petrosa*, which are recorded in Mediaeval sources, as well as *Durmitor* and *Visitor*, mountains in Montenegro. Who looks at these names from the standpoint of the Dalmatian and takes into consideration the almost general diphthongization of the short and long vowels, especially in open syllable, in that language, he can more or less imagine the evolution of the Latin bases of these names. However, one thing is pretty sure, namely, that the Dalmatian reflections ought to appear in a form totally different from that in which they are actually recorded. So this thesis, which has been repeated also by some other scholar, cannot explain the real state of things.

3 *Indogermanische Forschungen*, p. 46 383; 50, 41 and ff. *Slavia II*, p. 286 and ff.

4 *Introduction to the Study of the Albanian Language*, p. 43.

As for Weigand's second thesis, I have long since arrived at the conclusion that historical toponomastics, far from infirming the autochthony of the Albanians, is, on the contrary, in favour of it.⁵ Weigand is wrong in his method, because he treats all place names whether of the Antiquity, the Middle Ages or the modern times alike. Thus, apart from some old and new equations such as *Scodra: Shkodër*, *Lissus: Lesh*, *Dyrrachium: Durrës*, *Aulon: Vlorë*, following in the footsteps of Skok he has examined the geographical map of Albania and singled out a great number of foreign (Slav, Turk and other) names and a small number of indigenous names in the region around the Shkodra Lake and Mt. Tomorica in Middle Albania. Here it must be noted that, as a principle, this way of proceeding, that is, taking together place names originating both from the Middle Ages and modern times, is quite irrelevant in the definition of autochthony. Village names, especially, are altogether out of question here. Villages in the Balkans, an area constantly ravaged by wars and invasions, have never been long-lived, so their names cannot be very old, either. Cities, on the contrary, have, as everywhere else, formed a tradition in their surroundings. Cities have preserved their names even when they have been abandoned by their population or changed their sites; there are even cases of names of destroyed cities remaining alive in their regions. Names of mountains and rivers are just as long-living as city names, if not more so. This considered, it is absolutely necessary that the study of place names with the means of historical linguistics should be done only after prealable stratification. Therefore in the study of autochthony place names of a later period must be left aside and only those from the Antiquity must be taken up and compared with the respective forms still alive in people's speech to see if the former are explained by the latter

5 Cfr. the «Bulletin of the University of Tirana», series of social sciences, 2 (1958), p. 54 and ff.

according to the rules of the historical phonetics of the Albanian. If this is so the continuity of the Albanian element in its historical regions is proved. In the contrary case the Albanian element is not autochthonous but has come from other regions.

Beginning with the northern part of the country, the opinion that the present name of the city of *Shkodra*, *Scodra* in Latin times (according to Titus Livius), lives in Albanian speech from the pre-Roman period to this day runs counter to the rules of the historical phonetics of the Albanian, according to N. Jokl, who proceeds from the initial sounds of the word and the consonant group in its body. However, against Jokl's opinion it must be said that the change of *sk-* into *h-* in the front part of the word cannot come into consideration here: this change had been completed in the pre-historical period, perhaps even in the pre-Balkan period of the Albanian, whereas the problem of the autochthony has to do with the Antiquity phase of this language. In this phase, however, the historical development of this name has gone through the evolution of Albanian phonetics, as emerges from a comparison of the treatment of Albanian borrowings from Old Greek and Latin. For the front part of the word we have a similar case in *shkamb* from Lat. *scamnum*; for the consonant group in the body of the word we have *kulshedër* from Lat. *chersydrus* (which in turn comes from Gr. χέρσυδρος; and *balladër* «waterfall» from Lat. *barathrum* (from gr. σάραθρον). The question where the Albanians taken the old form *Skodra* cannot be answered with Weigand's «from the Dalmatians or local Italians», the more so as the Italians call this city *Scutari* and *Scodra* in Dalmatian would have resulted in some other form. Today's *Shkodër* is the regular continuation through the Albanian of the old *Scodra*, just as today's *Shkup* is the continuation of the ancient *Scupi*; the Slav *Skopje*, with its -o-, derives from an eastern dialect of the Albanian.⁶ In this connec-

6 *Studi si Cercetari lingvistice* X-4 (1959), p. 530 and ff.

tion, one cannot bring as Jokl does, the non-Slav name *Rogami*, which is met with in some regions of northern Albania and Montenegro, as an argument against the uninterrupted existence of this name in Albanian speech. The intervocalic -g- is an internal and relatively recent formation in the Albanian, with the extension of the word *rogë* «grassy spot in the mountains» (which is connected with *rruaj*) through the suffix -ame, which has its counterpart in *degame* «quarrel», from the word *degë*. Further south, *Lesh* is the regular evolution, through the Albanian, of the word *Λίσσος*, *Lissus* of Antiquity, with the same reflection of the short and open -i- (before a double consonant) as in the names *meshë*, *mjeshtë*, *peshk* from lat. *missa*, *magister*, *piscis*, in the suffix -eshë from Lat. -issa and in the adverb *shpesh* from *spissus*. True, Weigand says, «Whether the Serb *Ljes* and from this, the Alb. *Lesh* have derived from *Lessium*, or viceversa, this is a problem which cannot be resolved phonetically», while we say that the historical phonetics of the Albanian is well in a position to resolve this problem. Among other names of cities, the modern Albanian name *Durrës*, according to the general opinion, is not the direct continuation of the ancient name *Dyrrachium*, as seen from the variety of the names of this city (Gr. *Δυρράχιον* Middle Latin *Duracium*, Old. Dalm. *Durrau*, Old Fr. *Duras*, It. *Durazzo*, Slav and Turk. *Drač*, etc.). The problem of the derivation of the Albanian word remains an open one. Nevertheless, if the accent of this and other trisyllabic place names of the Illyrian linguistic area is properly considered, in my opinion, the road is paved for a correct reading of these names and for an understanding of their evolution down to the present forms of the Albanian. Here the opinion of Hans Krahe that the Illyrian had an initial accent, just as the Common German, Italic and Keltic, is very much to the point and applicable to the pronunciation of Illyrian place-names. Proceeding in this manner, as Petar Skok has done in particular about the names of the city *Drivastum* and the river *Isamnus*, which is recorded by

Vibius Sequester, we have the readings *Drivastum* and *Isamnus*, and these readings are corroborated by the names *Drisht* and *Ishëm Ishm* (the latter both as a river and city name) of today's Albanian. The same holds true about *Durrës*, from an old local form of *Dûrachio*, *Durrachium*, with the *u* pronunciation of the Greek *v* in an earlier phase of north-western Old Greek. In this connection it must not be accidental that in the coastal parts of Apulia opposite to these cities, in the ancient land of the Messapian the Latin names *Tarentum*, *Brundisium* and *Hydruntum* have their correspondents in today's *Taranto*, *Brindisi* and *Otranto*. The Mati River flows into the Adriatic to the north of *Ishëm*. The modern name of this river is the regular reflection in Albanian of the *Mathis* fluvius mentioned by Vibius Sequester. This equation is the more remarkable as this river name finds its meaning within the Albanian, where *mat* means «sea or river shore». Therefore, it is highly probable that the modern name of the river is the continuation of the ancient one, that is, those who named it were the forefathers of the Albanians. Etymologically I link the Albanian word *mat* with the Irish *mat* «sand», and the use of a word meaning «sea or river shore» as a river name also appears in Fr. *rivière* «river», from *rive* «shore». Weigand denies without any evidence the immediate derivation of the Albanian name for the river *Shkum(b)i*, *Shkum(b)ini* from Lat. *Scampus* (from *Scampa*), referring the Albanian form of this name to an undocumented Slav base⁷ *Skompin*, the supposed reflection of the Latin name of this river. However, this Latin name in Middle Albania could not possibly have undergone a different evolution because in the dialect of Middle Albania *ë* in pre-tonal position turns into *u* and the group *mb* results regularly in *m* through progressive assimilation. Weigand also thinks that the Albanian name of the

7 *Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft* (1943), p. 34.

city of *Vlora*, *Vlon*, *Vlorë*, in Ptolemy, has come through the intermediary of the Slav, but Max Vasmer is not so sure about that⁸. And true enough in Slav speech *Avlona* ought to have given **Valin*; hence, this scholar is obliged to put the transition of this name to the Slavs further down chronologically, to the time of Simeon the Great. It is clearly evident that with such time reckoning there emerges a gap of several centuries which is difficult to bridge. On the other hand, if we assume the equation Late Old Greek *Avlôn*: Albanian *Vlonë Vlorë* we will be standing on firmer historical and linguistic ground; the apheresis of the *a* is just as regular as in *amicus*: *mik*; the rhotacism of the Tosk dialect in *Vlorë* is also regular. In the southernmost part of the territory of the Albanian language, Martin Leak had, as early as 1814⁹, found in the Albanian name for the region of *Çamëria* the ancient name of the *Thyamis* River (today *Kallama*), a name which has disappeared among the Greek population of those parts. Further south, the equation between the ancient name *Arachthos* and the modern name *Arta* fully coincides with the rules of Albanian historical phonetics (*kt*: *ht*: *t*). — If we turn again to the north of the territory of the Albanian language, and more precisely its northeastern and north-western branches, in the equation between the ancient *Naissus* and the modern *Nish*, and between *Astribus* and *Shtip*, we find the intermediary of the Albanian language. The same thing must be accepted now about *Scardus* mons, today *Shar*. In this couple of names there is no evolution through the metathesis of the liquids, which is characteristic of the Slav, as seen in *Scardona*: *Skradin* in Dalmatia. In the north-west, if we take the name of *Ragusa*, *Ragusium*, which emerges about the year 614 of our era, and look at its relationship to the ancient

⁸ Zeitschrift für slawische Philologie V, p. 288.

⁹ *Researches in Greece*, p. 13.

Albanian name of this city (i.e. in P. Bogdani in 1685), which is *Rush*, we shall see that this name has all the sings of the phonetic evolution of the Albanian: hyphere-sis of the pretonal vowel, disappearance of intervocalic -g-, transformation of *s* into *sh*. This name, together with that of the city of *Ragusa*, in Sicily, very probably comprises the first part of the Albanian word *rrush*, from a basis *ragus* related to Greek *Raks*, *ragos* «grape». Thus, this place name, together with the names of *Shkodra*, *Drisht*, *Lesh*, *Mat*, *Ishm*, *Durrës*, *Shkumbi*, *Vlo-në*, *Vlorë*, *Çameria* and *Arta* and some others, indicates that the Southern Adriatic and the Northern Ionian were since ancient times part of the habitat of the Albanian people.

In the definition of this habitat the marine terminology of the Albanian has particular importance. According to the general opinion, the Albanian has borrowed its navigation and fishing terms from the neighbouring languages, and this is supposed to be an argument against the presence of the ancient Albanians on the shores of the Adriatic. In essence, Jokl was the first to come out with this opinion, although it must be said that this scholar has subsequently diluted his thesis with a series of reservations. So he points out, against Weigand's opinion, that the High German has taken a great part of its navigation and fishing terms from the Low German, and this despite the fact that the High German is a Germanic language and the Germanic people have long been living in close contact with the sea.¹⁰ In Weigand's opinion, the Albanians, «had they lived permanently in Illyria, ought to have conserved some of the more common terms of the inherited autochthonous vocabulary, such as words about boat, ship, oar, rudder, sail, as well as some fish names etc.» This thesis, which has been repeated by several other scholars, does not take into full account what the Albanian language offers us in

¹⁰ *Indogermanische Forschungen*, p. 46, 383.

this field. Nobody denies the fact that the Albanian vocabulary of sea and navigation terms is, in its greater part, borrowed from the neighbouring languages; however, some qualitative distinctions must be made about these names just as about place names. Technical terms of navigation and fishing are foreign, just as most of the names for the means of navigation and their parts, and most of the fish names and fishing implements. However, along with this the Albanian has also preserved a number of words deriving from its autochthonous vocabulary. They are among others, *det* (with the basic meaning of «depth») together with *bregdet* and *detar*, which are very early documented, and *denik* «strong wind with rain», which in essence means «wind from the sea» (**detnik*); *va* which derives from Latin and which in plural *vana* means «moorings»; *mat* «sea or river shore», *grykë* «inlet, bay», *valë*, *shkulm* «wave», *ujë amull* «stagnant water», etc. Among the names for navigation means the general name *anë anije* is connected with *an anë* «vessel», hence it can be compared with German *Schiff* «ship», which derives from Old High German *scif* «vessel». The plural of the word *an anë* is also used for «vessel», cfr. *enët e mëdhaja*, *enët e vogla* («big vessels, small vessels»). Although the present navigation means, almost without exception, have names of foreign origin, there were some names of Albanian origin in the past; thus in 1403 we find *gripareas* «salt ship»¹¹, a derivate of the word *kripë*, documented for southern Albania. Among ship parts of local origin there are, among others, the front part of the ship (*ballës*), the bottom boards under the floating line (*terzha*), the sail (*pëlhurë*), the mast (*shtizë*); cfr. *lugatë* = *lugë* + *lopatë*, the barge pole (*shtizë*); cfr. also *ena ujtis* «the ship leaks» from the word *ujë* («water»). It is true, on the other hand, that this terminology has been preserved only in some remote dialects of the seacoast; and, besides, these dialects have not been

11) Acta et diplomata, II, 742.

systematically studied from this aspect. In regard to the names of fish and other sea animals, along with a host of foreign names, we also find a great number of local names. Here we have, among others, the names *likurishtë* «polyp» which derives from *lëkurë* («skin»). The word *ngjalë* which derives neither from Old Greek *égchelys* or Latin *anguilla*, but is the reflection of an autochthonous base **engella* and is connected with the name of the Illyrian tribe of the *Eggelánes* who lived on the shores of the *Lychnitis* (Ohër) Lake, a name which Paul Kretschmer correctly interprets as the «eel people». Among fish names formed with the individual means of the Albanian language let us mention *baltuk* («mud fish»), *bark-gjerë* («broad-bellied»), *barkalec* («great-bellied»), *bërcak*, *bisht-mizë* («flytail»), *bishtmi* («mousetail»), *buztak* («thick-lipped»), *dac deti* («seacat»), *dallëndyshe* («swallow») *dhëlpën deti* («sea fox»), *ferrcak* («bony»), *gjanës* («broadbodied»), *gjarpën deti* («sea snake»), *gjuhçë* («tongue-formed»), *gjylpanëz* («needle-formed»), *hanë* («moonfish»), *kryemadh* («big-headed»), *kryepreftë* («sharp-headed»), *kuqrrak* («reddish»), *laraman* («motley»), *larëz* («patchy»), *pendkuq* («red-finned»), *pluhn* («dusty»), *shyt* («flat-bodied»), *shytëz* («flat-bodied»), *veshflori* («gold-eared»), *veshverdhë* («yellow-eared»), *vioç* («striped»). The fish name *kubël* «*Clupea alosa*» is near in form to the Serbo-Croatian *kobla* which derives from the Dalmatian, what does not speak in favour of Weigand's thesis on the non-existence of Albanian-Dalmatian relationships. Among parts of the fish body, besides *halë* («fishbone») there are *krehër* («fish back bone») and *verzën* («gill»). The verb *gjuaj* «to hunt» means also «to fish». Among fishing tools, let us mention *rrahçë* («conical fishing net»), from the verb *rrah* «to beat», *njicë* «large fishing net», from *njis*, *ngjis* «to attach», *palcuër* «long net rod» and *shularë* (long net sticks), from *shul* «stick». So in regard to the terms of navigation and fishing we have a ratio between the local and foreign vocabulary which is not different from that of other material spheres, such as agriculture and handicrafts. On the other hand,

in the abundance of foreign words, especially Venetian and Turkish, in the terminology of navigation and fishing, the Albanian goes together with other Balkan languages, especially the modern Greek and Serbo-Croatian.

It is not the place here to deal with the late emergence of the Albanians in history, with the relationship of the Albanian with the Rumanian and with the Albanian-Thracian concordances, which are frequently used as arguments against the autochthony of the Albanians in their present lands. In regard to the Albanian-Thracian (or Albanian-Dacian) concordances in vocabulary and phonetical system, let it be said here only that there are also concordances, and perhaps clearer ones, between the Albanian and the Illyrian (and more particularly between the Albanian and the Messapian). So, the historical interpretation of the linguistic material here is totally one-sided and as such extremely controversial. Finally, one of the facts disproving the autochthony of the Albanians in their present lands, according to Norbert Jokl and others after him, is supposed to be the relatively small number of Albanian borrowings from the Old Greek. We shall say a few words about this here, because it is relevant to the problem. The scarcity of Old Greek words in the Albanian vocabulary, compared with the words derived from Latin, is an undeniable fact. However, it can be explained. This fact has its historical, and especially, geographical reasons, because it is known that many a mountain chain divides Albania from Greece. That is why the Albanian, during its whole history, appears to have little contact with the Greek. This is also apparent from the fact that in the Middle Ages and in modern times, periods of history in which there is no doubt about the presence of the Albanians in their historical regions, the influence of the Italian is far greater than that of the Middle and Modern Greek, of course, when the question is about borrowings for the whole Albanian language. This principle established, then it can be said that borrowings from the Old Greek are such as rather to prove than disprove the autochthonous character of the Albanians in

their territories. Even if we leave aside the fact that the number of these borrowings is greater than it was supposed to be, there is in them an element which, in its qualitative character, has not been given due consideration to this day. As related by S. Bugge, A. Thumb, N. Jokl, K. Sandfeld and other linguists, the Albanian has some north-western Doric, Greek borrowings such as *mokën*, *mokër* from *μαχανᾶ* for *μηχανή*; *drapën* *drapër* from a* *δραπάνον* for *δρέπανον*; less sure is *mollë* from *μᾶλον* for *μῆλον*, because here we may also have to do with a direct borrowing from the Mediterranean substratum. There are other borrowings, too. Here come *kumbull* from *κοκκύμηλον** *kokkūmalon*, *brukë* «Tamarix gallica» (Middle Albania and the Myzeqe Plain) from *μυρύχι*, *trumzë* «Thymus» (North Albania) from *θρῦμβη* «Saturea thymbra», *qull* from *χῦλός* *kum*, pl. *Kuma* «wave» (Ulqin) from *κύμα* «wave». In conformity with the facts of historical linguistics and geography it is probable that here we have to do rather with north-western Doric Greek borrowings of the classic time than with borrowings of a more ancient period of the Greek. A thing which is noteworthy and important not only for the history of the Albanians, but also of the Greek itself and its dialects, is that these words appear in similar form also in the Greek of southern Italy, as reported by Gerhard Rohlfs. Thus, *kukkmile kukkmila* of those dialects, corresponds to the Albanian *kumbull*; *brùka*, *abbrùka*, *vruka* corresponds to the Albanian *brukë*; *trumba*, *tromba* «Thymus» (*θρούμπα* in Rhodes today) corresponds to the Albanian *trumzë*. As there is no evidence of a migration of dialectal words from Southern Italy to Albania, the close relations between the two sides of the Adriatic on the basis of Doric Greek dialect cannot be denied. According to the then historical situation there were only two roads for these borrowings to penetrate into the ancient phase of the Albanian language: one through the north-western dialects of Northern Greece, and the other through the

Greek settlements on the Adriatic coast, such as Lissos, Epidamnos, Dyrrachium, Apollonia, «starting-points of very ancient trade routes leading to the interior».¹² Other borrowings from the Old Greek have entered the Albanian mainly from these directions. However, these words, although belonging to the north-western Doric dialect of the Greek, did not distinguish themselves as clearly as the words we have mentioned above from the other Greek dialects, so it is impossible to determine more precisely their source for the Albanian. If we draw from this reasoning the consequences related to the Albanian language, it must be accepted that in the time when the north-western Doric Greek dialects existed, that is, before the beginning of the new era, the forefathers of the Albanians were already living in present-day Albania where they made the above mentioned borrowings.

Summing up what we have said, Albanian place names together with Albanian marine terminology and north-western Doric Greek borrowings of the Albanian prove that the coastal regions of the Adriatic belong, since ancient times, at least since the Greek-Roman period, to the Balkan homeland of the Albanians. Although this ethnic element was for a certain time pushed by the foreign invaders into the mountain regions of the interior, it never lost sight of the Adriatic, as proved by a number of ancient place names and the archaic character of the Latin borrowings. Hence, the habitat of the Albanians has not undergone any essential change from the Antiquity to this day. This thesis, presented here only in broad outline, must be elaborated in more detail, so as to consider also the subsequent strata of place names which are evidence of foreign invasions during the history of Albania.

12 Šufflay, *Städte und Burgn Albaniens hauptsächlich während des Mittelalters*, p. 12.

THE PROBLEM OF THE PLACE OF FORMATION OF THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE*

Among the principal problems of the palaeoethnology of the Balkan Peninsula and the ancient history of its languages is the problem of the source of the Albanian, or more precisely, the problem of the affinity of the Albanian with the non-Greek languages of the Antiquity and of the place in which the Albanian was formed as an independent language. Those problems are inter-connected: the region where an idiom has been formed as a clearly distinguishable linguistic entity presupposes the existence of close links with the language or languages spoken in that region or in the neighbouring regions in ancient times.

The problem is not only a linguistic but an ethnographic and archaeological one as well. It has to do with history as well as method. Languages are not magnitudes existing in themselves; they are linked with the people who speak them, and the history of languages is in essence a

* Extract from the «Convention of Illyrian Studies» (Tirana 15-20 September 1972), II, Tirana 1974, pp. 7-26.

reflection of the history of peoples and cultures. So, in a comprehensive treatment of the question of the source of the Albanian and of the territory of its formation as a language, along with the conclusions of linguists, the results of affiliated disciplines should also be taken into account. However, this correct methodological principle is difficult to follow within the limits of this paper. Without neglecting the general historical-geographic situation, we think that we must limit ourselves here to the methodic aspect of the question and, leaving aside the results of other disciplines, employ only linguistic means in our approach to the problem, the more so as it is known that cultural units and linguistic units are not always the same and congruent with each other. Dealing with a region such as the Balkan Peninsula, with no concrete information and data about the transition from the ancient ethnic situation to the present one, with frequent movements of peoples and tribes, the study of the ethnic sources of the present national units becomes even more difficult. It would be unscientific, if not to say naive, to project the present circumstances directly into the past. For its part, linguistics has something more resultative to show: the final and certain reflections of the different historical and ethnic processes of ancient times which otherwise would be lost. In these circumstances, we must try to achieve a solution to the problem posed here through as precise an interpretation as possible of the existing facts of language.

The principle that the subject of study, to a certain extent, also determines the method of study is valid in our case, too. The scarcity of material in our case calls for an original method of research. In the particular situation in which a tradition of Albanian writing, at the present level of our knowledge, begins only in the 15th century, while, on the other hand, the problem of its genesis and the territory of its formation belongs to a much earlier period of the history, this method has to rely mainly on reconstructions and comparisons. The problem here is to look for the threads linking the past

with the present and, proceeding from the present, to go as far back into the past as possible. There where these threads are broken attempts can be made through comparative linguistics to link them again and complete the picture as much as possible.

After such considerations of a general character let us now revert to our theme — the definition of the place of formation of the Albanian language. The history of a language — just as the history of the people that have spoken or continue to speak it — represents an unbroken chain, a continuity, although on the basis of the general principle of subdivision and classification, for both methodological and practical reasons, it is usually divided into a prehistorical and a historical period which, in return, are divided in different subperiods. Proceeding from the premise that there exists a rapport between the links of relationship of a language and its geographical position, with the data derived so far through the comparative method about the place of the Albanian among the kindred languages one can take another step ahead in defining the territory of the Albanian in the pre-Balkan period of its pre-history. Franz Bopp's formulation that «in its fundamental elements the Albanian language is not particularly connected or, still less, derived from any of the sister («Sanskrit» as Bopp puts it) languages of our continent», is still valid only that the achievements made in Indo-European comparative linguistics over a century since that time allow us to define somewhat more precisely some of the affinities of the Albanian with the other sister languages. In its phonetical evolution — to mention only its main features — and in particular, in the reflection of the supposed Indo-European *bh* with the simple occlusive *b* the Albanian goes with most Indo-European languages; in the transition of Indo-European palatals into spirants it goes with the Eastern Indo-European languages: the Indo-Iranian, Armenian, Slav, and Baltic; in the reflection of the Indo-European short *o* and *a* it goes with the German, Baltic and Slav languages. The Albanian has preserved almost nothing

of importance from the morphological structure, especially the flexion and the nominal system of the Indo-European; with the losses it has suffered in its flexion system, the Albanian has developed its own declension of nouns and pronouns.¹ Despite the losses incurred in the system of tenses and moods, and despite the innovations carried out in the course of its evolution, innovations which are connected with these losses, there are still some discernable affinities in the flexion of Albanian verbs. Thus the preterite of the type *mblodha* as against *mbledh*, as Gustav Meyer was the first to notice, corresponds to Lat. *lēgi*, *sedi*, Goth. *sētum*, *qēmum* and Lit. *sēdes bēges*.² On the other hand, the alternation of the present suffix *-io/-i*, which exists in Latin (*capio*, *-is*, *-it*) and Gothic, as observed by A. Meillet,³ also appears in the flexion of the Albanian *-i-* verbs (*vras*, *vret*, *vret*). The fact the Arbëresh scholar Dhimitër Kamarda⁴ observed for the first time, namely, that the primary endings of the old Greek medio-passive appear, at least partially, in Albanian, too, so that *phéromai*, which up to this day has been compared with Old Prussian *asmai* «I am», coincides in form with *vishem* of the Albanian, to which must be added also *phéretai*: *vishetë*, *pherómetha*: *vishe-mi*, *phérontai*: *vishenë*. Finally, if the equation Arm. *utem* «I eat: *eker* «he ate»: Alb. *ha*, *hëngri*, established by H. Pedersen⁵ remains correct, then it ensues that the Albanian has had the augment, just as the Indo-Iranian, Armenian, Phrygian and Greek. The partial concordances of the elements of the inherited vocabulary of the Albanian, which often rest on already overcome interpretations, need in many cases be re-examined so they

1 Cfr. also H. Pedersen, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* I, (1924), p. 223

2 IF 5 (1895), p. 181 and ff.

3 Mem. Soc. Ling. XIX (1914), p. 119 and ff.

4 *Saggio di grammatologia comparata sulla lingua albanese*, (1864), p. 287 and ff.

5 KZ 36 (1900), p. 341.

cannot yet be put to good use for a definitive etymological assessment in statistical form. Nevertheless, at the present level of knowledge,⁶ it can be said, although with some reservations, that the Albanian has lexical links with most Indo-European languages, the north-European languages especially, and among them with the Baltic languages in particular, that the Albanian-Armenian concordances are fewer than the Albanian-Greek-Armenian concordances, and that eventual links of the Albanian with the Anatolic languages remain still unverified. Considering this general pre-historic situation which is not invalidated by some other features of the Albanian not mentioned here, both linguistically and geographically, the Albanian must occupy a central, intermediate position between the West and the East, a conclusion which partially coincides with that of some other scholars.⁷ (The Albanian occupies a similar position, be it said here in passing, also in the way it treats its Latin elements)⁸. If, furthermore, the

6 Cfr., in particular, G. Meyer, *Bezenberger Beiträge VIII*, (1883), p. 185 and ff., *Etymological dictionary* (1891) passim; H. Pedersen KZ, p. 36, 341, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte I*; p. 222; N. Jokl, ibidem, p. 92 and ff.; IF 43 (1926), p. 56 and ff.; *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XXXIV* (1927), p. 130 and ff.; *Wörter und Sachen XII* (1929), p. 56 and ff.; *Die Sprache IX* (1963), p. 113 and ff.; W. Porzig, *Die Gliederung des indg. Sprachgebiets* (1954) VI p. 10; V. Pisani, *Saggi di linguistica storica* (1959 particularly 1955), p. 115 and ff.; the author, «Bulletin of the State University of Tirana», series of social sciences, and «Philological Studies», 1960-1968; *Studi linguistici in onore di V. Pisani I* (1969), p. 167 and ff.; A. Desnickaya, *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 6 (1965) p. 24 and ff.; E. Hamp, *The Position of the Albanian*, p. 97 and ff.

7 Cfr., in particular, M. Budimir, *Glasnik Istor. Društva U Novom Sadu* 2 (1929), p. 1 and ff. — IJ XV VII 120 — M. La Piana *Studi linguistici albanesi I* (1939), p. 159.

8 The author, «Revue (roumaine) de linguistique», VII (1962) p. 167 and ff.

ancient borrowings from the Iranian are taken into account, as well as the more ancient contacts with some Finno-Ugrian languages⁹ and, on the other hand, if it is considered that two mountain chains of Central and Eastern Europe — the Carpathians and the Beskids, have a meaning in Albanian, of all living Indo-European languages (*karpë*, *bjeshkë*, the latter with subsequent diphthongization), it is not far from the truth to say that the cradle of the pre-Balkan phase of the Albanian in the European period of the Indo-European languages has been in an area somewhere to the north of the Balkan Peninsula.

Going over now to the Balkan period, there emerges the question of the area of the Peninsula in which this language was formed; was it the present Albanian speaking area or another one, and in this case, where was it and from where have the carriers of the would-be Albanian language come to their present language area? In other words, since what historical period is this language spoken in its present area?

Whatever the answers to these questions, there are, in our opinion, some points which must be taken account of.

First, it is known that formation means development. As any other language, the Albanian has not emerged from its previous phase as a finished static magnitude. With the passage of time it assumed the form and the features of its structure which make it what it is today.

So, being the question of the formation of the Albanian language not only a problem of the geography but also a problem of the history of language. it must be recalled, second, that, as it was said above, this problem is treated here in its strictly linguistic aspect. Although the formation of a language is linked with the ethnic

9 N. Jokl, «Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes», XXXIV, p. 130 and ff., «Wörter und Sachen», XII, p. 63 and if.

formation of the people that speak it, here as a matter of principle linguistic problems will be examined separately from ethnological problems. We are clear about the fact that the road of formation of this language, just as any other language, has not been a straightlined one. Different components which can no further be investigated, such as migrations and mingling of peoples, internal movements, convergences of different elements, change in some units along with disintegration in other units; all these are processes of its formation which, as we said, must remain outside the sphere of our examination.

Within this circumscribed sphere which has to do only with language, third, one thing is sure, namely, that, like any other language, the Albanian, too, stems from a more ancient degree of its development, regardless of the non-Greek language of the Balkan Peninsula of the Antiquity it is derived from. Thus, in the treatment of our problem the question of the genealogical affinity and filiation of the Albanian may be pushed aside, although, as it was said above, the two questions are closely interrelated, so that if the origin of the Albanian is located in the Western Balkans then the Albanian is linked mainly with the dialects of the Illyrian, while if the Albanian is located in the Eastern Balkans then the Albanian is linked mainly with the dialects of the Thracian. It is not perhaps superfluous to note here that, with their long history, these languages, including the Macedonian and other idioms of the Egean Basin, in regard to the Indo-European represent not its beginning, but only some definite phases of its development, the transition from the Late Stone Age to the Bronze and Iron Ages, before they appear as formed magnitudes in the light of history and then disappear during the Antiquity or in its end. In regard to the knowledge of the material, the grammar system in particular, it must be accepted that these languages, with the exception of some small relicts, are totally unknown to us; and the etymological interpretation, often arbitrary, of personal names contributes

little to an essential knowledge of them.¹⁰ As for the affinity of the Albanian as the ultimate relict of all these languages, it must be noted that in the search for similarities the not few dissimilarities have not been given proper importance. From the methodical standpoint, a distinction should be made between similarities based on common structures and parallel development, which are true concordances, and casual coincidences which prove nothing. That in comparing a living language with a dead one, one should observe the principle of chronology and focus only on specific concordances which do not appear in other languages, this need not be said here, because the criteria for this work have been dealt with in another article.¹¹

As the theme of our work is delimited from many sides, so the circle of concordances in time should not be extended too far. The pre-history of the Albanian may have continued in the Balkan Peninsula, but it cannot be followed linguistically, hence, this question may be left aside in this study. The question of the place of formation of the language may arise only for a historical period about which there are written documents, and more precisely personal names, place names, etc., which either emerge in the documents of the two classic languages or live on in Albanian popular speech. On the other hand,

10 «...in the sphere of a little known language, it is an utterly risky and useless affair to give at all costs an etymological explanation for a place name the true meaning of which remains unknown to us. Etymological attempts of this kind often degenerate into subtle, though vain, juggling with Indo-European phonetical laws and word roots and suffixes which more confuse than elucidate things.» V. Beshevliev, *Zur Deutung der Kastellnamen in Prokops Werk «De aedificiis»* (1970), p. 4.

11 «Revue roumaine de linguistique», X (1965), p. 105 and ff., Actes du premier Congrès international des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes VI (1968), p. 43; «Studia Albanica», VII I (1970), p. 166.

evidence from miliary stones and coins of the Antiquity, whether in Greek or Latin, or with no inscription at all, not only is not relevant to our problem, but often leads to negative results: regardless of whether in the linguistic division of this area into a Romanized and a Hellenized zone, as borne out by the documents of the time, the demarcation line from west to east may have run through the middle of present-day Albania, or according to K. Jireček, more to the north, or according to other scholars such as M. Šufflay, P. Skok and K. Patsch, more to the south,¹² this division cannot claim to have an absolute value, as long as there exists a living language to this day in this area. As seen in the case of, *mutatis mutandis*, the Turkish-Arabic inscriptions of the later Islamized cities of the Balkan Peninsula with their population which, with a few exceptions, was totally ignorant of these two oriental languages, the linguistic division of Albania in the Antiquity meant something only to the city dwellers who may have had some rudiments of reading and writing, and nothing at all to the illiterate masses of farmers and herdsmen. This situation, which Mommsen was the first to notice for Macedonia, must on the evidence of the Albanian, be recognised also for other mountain regions of south-eastern Europe. It also explains the formation and continuation of the Albanian in these regions.

There are two approaches to the question we are treating here. One says that the Albanian language has

12 Archiv für slav. Philologie XV (1893), p. 98 and ff.; *Die Romanen in den Städten Dalmatiens* I (1901), p. 19 and ff.; *Geschichte der Serben* I (1911), p. 38 and ff., 49, 152; *Illyr.-Alb. Forschungen* I (1916), p. 66 and ff.; *Städte und Burgen Albaniens hauptsächlich während des Mittelalters* (1924), p. 13; *Byzantion* VI. p. 371; *Z. rom. Philologie* LIV (1934) 179; *Z.f. Ortsnamenforschung* VII, p. 34 and ff.; *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Südost-europa*, V (1932), p. 160 and ff. with notes by B. Saria; *Südost-Forschungen* XII (1953), p. 15 and ff.

not changed its area since the Antiquity. The other says that the carriers of this language have, in that time or later, migrated and settled in their present lands from a region more to the east or more to the north. Let us analyse these theses in general outline before assuming a stand towards them.

The Albanians are autochthonous for the earlier generations of scholars who have taken account more of historical circumstances. From the fact that in the history of the Albanians there is no record of later immigrations, Johann Thunmann sees in them the ancient neighbours of the Greeks and the subjects of ancient Rome.¹³ The idea of an uninterrupted linguistic tradition from the Antiquity on in Albania seemed so evident to Martin Leake¹⁴ that he did not even take the trouble to examine any opinion in the contrary. Xylander,¹⁵ too, is of the opinion that the Albanians have lived in their territories from times immemorial. However, J. G. v. Hahn must be considered the true founder of this scientific opinion. With a broader knowledge of the historical and linguistic situation of the country than his predecessors, this scholar deals with the problem in an all-round manner, although the means at his disposal were still insufficient, working as he did at a time when comparative linguistics was at its first steps. Hahn raises first the question which science poses still today, namely, do the Albanians descend from the ancient inhabitants of the country or have they come here in a later historical period, like the Slavs? After profound research he comes to the conclusion that the forefathers of the Albanians were living in the present territories of this people since the time of the Romans and Greeks. More than in his profound knowledge of the matter, Hahn's strong side lies in his method. From the

13 *Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der östlichen europäischen Völker* (1774), p. 245 and ff.

14 *Researches in Greece* (1814), p. 237 and ff.

15 *Die Sprache der Albanesen or der Schkipetaren* (1835), p. 318.

historical aspect he stresses that there is no immigration, apart from the Slav immigration, recorded in Albania, a fact which was pointed out by Thunmann, too. From the linguistic aspect he examines the concordances of data from the Antiquity with the present situation, and especially — by a method which is almost modern, compares the ancient geographical names of the country with the present ones, finding out which ancient geographical names have been preserved as appellatives in modern Albanian, convinced as he was that the existence of such names was an incontrovertible argument in favour of the continuity of the Albanians in their present territories. Among these names there are such equations as *Delmatia*: *delme dele*, *Dardania*: *dardhë*; *Dimallum*: *di* «two» and *mal* «mountain»; *Vendum*: *vend*, which since that time are durable acquisitions of knowledge.¹⁶ In the same objective spirit, in a subsequent work this scholar includes the region of Dardania within the territories of the forefathers of the Albanians.¹⁷

This theory predominated for a long time, and it has its supporters to our days. N. Jokl modified it for some linguistic reasons, which will be given below. He excludes the Adriatic coast and north-western Albania from the ancient territories of the Albanians in the Balkan Peninsula and places their ancient home in the extreme north-east of the present area of the Albanian language, in the ancient *Dardania*, somewhere around the city of *Naissus*; which even today is not too distant from the farthest extension of this linguistic area, and whose present form *Nish* proves an Albanian linguistic tradition. While Jokl was first of the opinion that the habitat of the modern Albanians does not fully coincide with the territory of their forefathers in ancient times. later this outstanding student of the Albanian, through an inner evolution

16 «Albanesische Studien» (1854), p. 213 and ff.

17 «Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik, 2nd ed. (1868) 36 and ff.

(«dies diem docet») and in opposition to the theses of G. Weigand, A. Philippides and A. M. Seliščev, which had just been published, comes to the other conclusion, namely, that the forefathers of the Albanians lived since pre-Roman times in the Balkan Peninsula within the sphere of Greco-Roman culture. Starting from more northern regions, they had already arrived in the region of Prevalitana, that is, in the north-western part of their present country, so that the Slavs, when they pushed to the coastal regions of north-western Albania, must have found an Albanian population there. This opinion is linguistically based on a comparative study of the present names of this region with their forms documented in ancient writers, such as *Drî Drini: Drinus, Mat Mati: Mathis* (in Vibius Sequester): «these names have from the Antiquity to our times uninterruptedly been used in Albanian speech and only the Albanian language could have given them the form they have today.»¹⁸ Hence, it is evident that in the course of time this scholar has greatly modified his opinion, eventually thinking that the area of the Albanian in the Antiquity coincides to a great extent with that of the Albanian today. So he returns to the opinion of the continuity of the Albanian habitat from the Antiquity to our days, an opinion which he would express for many years since.¹⁹ Meanwhile the opinion of this scholar about the Dardanian origin of the Albanian was adopted by many scholars and developed further. Among them are E. Durham who even earlier noticed that both in South Slav and in Albanian there

18 About Jokl's thought cfr. *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* I (1924), p. 85 and ff. and 91 and ff.; *Balkan-Archiv* IV (1925), p. 201 and ff.; *IF* 46 (1928) 383, 50 (1932) 4 and ff. and 41 and ff.; «*Slavia*» XIII (1934-1935) p. 286 and ff., p. 627 and ff.; «*Studia Albanica*» I 1 (1964), p. 48 and ff. The last article, as I have noted in loc. cit. belongs to the years 1933-1934.

19 *Albanisch* (1917), p. 122.

are many regional names derived from plant names²⁰, and P. Skok and H. Barić who added to these names *Scupi: Shkup* and *Astibos: Shtip* as names evolved according to the phonetical laws of the Albanian.²¹ Among the historians, G. Stadtmüller, for historical, linguistic and geographical reasons (travelling routes), came to the conclusion that the habitat of the Albanian people in the Roman and Early Byzantine times must be located, true, in their present area, but only in part of it, that is, in the quadrangle between the coastal plain of Lower Albania, the Shkumbini Valley, the Black Drin Valley and the White Drin Valley, with the region of Mat at its centre.²²

In this controversial question, the opinions of the different scholars vary much from each other. The road opened by K. Pauli²³ and H. Hirt²⁴ and followed by some other scholars in detaching the Albanian, for reasons of historical phonetics, from the Illyrian, and placing it along the Thracian, entails the displacement of the place of formation of this language to the east of its present territory. Thus, S. Puscariu²⁵ tried to support with lin-

20. *Man* 23 (1923), p. 29 and ff.

21 *Z. für Ortsnamenforschung* IV (1928), p. 205; *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva* XV-XVI (1935-1936), p. 301; *Revue intern. d. ét. balc.* I (1934) p. 9; *Osnovi romanske lingvistike* I (1940), p. 132; *Introduction to the Study of the Albanian Language*, (1955), p. 49; *Lingvisticke studije*, p. 26. cfr. also C. Tagliavini, *Le parlate albanesi di tipo ghego orientale* (1942), p. 12; *Stratificazione del lessico albanese* (1965), p. 21 and ff.

22 *Leipziger Vierteljahrschrift für Südosteuropa* V (1941) 58 and ff.; *Forschungen zur alb. Frühgeschichte* (1941, augmented reedition 1966), passim, especially p. 84, 118 and ff.

23 *Eine vorgriechische Inschrift von Lemnos*, *Altital. Forschungen* II (1894), p. 200.

24 *Festschrift für H. Kiepert* (1898), p. 181 and ff.; *Die Indogermanen I* (1905), p. 141.

25 *Zur Rekonstruktion des Urrumänischen*; *Z. für rom. Philol* XXVI (1910), p. 61 and ff.

guistic arguments V. Parvan's opinion that under the pressure of the Slavs, the Albanians migrated from north-east to south-east across the Carpathians and through Transilvania, and as nomadic herdsmen, came first to the southern and then the south-western part of the Balkan Peninsula, an idea which its author did not base on further historical evidence. Meanwhile after L. Spitzer's²⁶ objections, Puscariu's arguments did not prove so sound. Puscariu himself later changed his opinion about this question.²⁷

Other scholars bring the Albanians from regions more to the north of their present habitat. So K. Jireček is of the opinion that during the barbarian invasions the half-Romanized Illyrians, the forefathers of the Albanians, moved from the mountains of Dalmatia and the Danube to the south.²⁸ A. Philippides also thinks that the former habitat of the Albanians lay «somewhere in the north», in the highlands of Bosna, between the Vrbas and Drina Rivers, where, according to him Latin inscriptions have been found, whereas he thinks that they lived even more to the north, in Pannonia²⁹, in a more ancient time. According to A. M. Seliščev the Albanians have come to their present regions after the Slavs,³⁰ an opinion which I. Popović has tried lately to back up with linguistic arguments³¹.

26 Mitteil. des Instituts für rum. Sprache an der Universität Wien I (1914), p. 292 and ff. Cfr. also Philippides, *Originea Rominilor* I, p. 694.

27 *Limba româna* I (1940), p. 271.

28 *Geschichte der Serben* (1911), p. 152; «Illyr.-Alb. Forschungen» I (1916), p. 66 and ff.

29 *Originea Rominilor* I (1925), p. 515, II (1927), p. 587, 770 and ff., 799 and ff.

30 *Slavianskoe naselenie v Albanii* (1930), p. 49 and ff., p. 73 and ff.

31 Z.f. slav. Phil. XXVI (1958), p. 301 and ff.; *Geschichte der serbokroatischen Sprache* (1960), p. 79 and ff., p. 157 and ff.

Among the scholars who have treated this problem, G. Weigand certainly has the merit of having posed it on a broader basis and analysed it in more detail, although one-sidedly, only in its linguistic aspect. The principal arguments of G. Weigand against the autochthony of the Albanians are as follows: 1. Latin place names appear in a phonetic form which is not Albanian, but Latin-Dalmatian; 2. The terminology of navigation and fishing is of foreign origin; 3. There are no traces of an influence of the Old Dalmatian on the Albanian, whereas there are many traces of Italian, and especially, Venetian, influence; 4. The Albanian has some words which are proved to be of Thracian origin; 5. A number of personal and place names in Thrace and Dacia are explained through the Albanian; 6. Had the Albanians lived always in present-day Albania, place names known there since the Antiquity ought to have undergone the phonetic evolution of the Albanian; 7. The Albanians are not mentioned before the 9th century although the territory of Albania is mentioned in many documents also in connection with its population; how could the Albanians have remained unmentioned if they had been there?; 8. The Rumanian-Albanian relations of non-Latin origin prove that the Albanians and the Rumanians lived together in ancient times; 9. In the Rumanian language there are Latin elements, the form of which can be explained only if it is supposed that they have entered into that language through the Albanian; 10. The Latin elements of the Albanian and Rumanian are so evidently similar that they must have been formed in the same cultural, linguistic and geographical conditions; 11. The folklore of the Albanians has some concordances with that of the Rumanians which do not appear among the Bulgarians and the Serbs, who live between these two peoples; 12. Folk songs have apparent concordances³². So

32 *Balkan-Archiv* III (1927), pp. 227-251. Earlier published in abridged form *Ethnographie von Makedonien* (1924), p. 11 and ff

the conclusion is that the Albanian has developed in the same place as the Rumanian, hence — also according to V. Tomašek — within the triangle Nish-Sofia-Skopje.

This thesis has been both accepted and rejected. It was rejected, among others, by Jokl³³, and opposed with detailed arguments by J. Erdeljanović,³⁴ V. Cimochowski³⁵ and H. Mihaescu.³⁶ It was adopted by a number of scholars whose names need not be mentioned here because their arguments and conclusions are more or less identical with those of Weigand's. Among other things, they failed to notice A. Meillet's opinion that «the Albanian probably is the continuation of a language which from early times was spoken in this area».³⁷

II

To achieve a synthesis about this problem, first opinions must be assessed objectively, and their theoretical bases discussed, and only then attempts must be made to assemble the facts into a system.

From a general review of these opinions we think that there is a contradiction between the historians and the linguists in the first place. Apparently because of lack of documents, the historians, with a very few exceptions, have long since, not without a certain resignation, left this problem to the linguists. The latter have approached the problem with their own methods and the means at their disposal, while in some cases losing sight of geographical-historical factors and thus departing from

33 *IJ XIII VII*, p. 181.

34 *Makedonski Srbi* (1925), p. 19, and ff.

35 «Bulletin of the State University of Tirana», Series of social sciences XII (1958), no. 2, p. 37 and ff.

36 «Revue des études sud-européennes» IV (1966), p. 342 and ff.

37 «Encyclopaedia Britannica» XIV (1929), p. 514.

the reality. If we add to this the subjectivism apparent in some scholars today, as well as some tendencies which have to do nothing with science, it must be admitted that compared with the previous generations of scholars, the scientific objectivity has somewhat suffered in the present generation and, as a result, along with undeniable progress, there has also been a certain retrogression.

First, the widespread opinion that in the historical period the area of the Albanian language has moved from a place more to the east or to the north to the present Albanian speaking area is devoid of historical basis. It is hard to imagine that the emigration and settlement of a whole people within the sphere of the Roman and Greek world and under the full light of history should have taken place without being noticed. The opinion connected with this thesis, namely, that the question is about a people of nomadic herdsmen whose migrations could not possibly attract the attention of the contemporaries, not only is not plausible from the general economic standpoint, but does not agree with the concrete cultural, historical and social facts, either. The Albanian language provides such evidence of the history of the Albanian people as we would be nearer to the historical truth if we accepted that along with elements leading a nomadic life there were also sedentary elements, along with the shepherds there were also farmers who tilled the land, along with the peasants there were also town-dwellers, along the fighters there were also peaceful craftsmen. As it is not the place here to prove this in more detail, suffice it to note that, on evidence from the language, the Latin influence had in Albania, just as in Dalmatia, a rather urban than rural character, unlike Rumania whose conditions of development have been described by Puscariu³⁸ and Mihaescu³⁹.

38 *Limba româna* I, p. 354 and ff.

39 *Limba latină în provinciile dunărene ale imperiului roman* (1960), p. 43.

This distinction from Rumania is also apparent in the language of the Church, with the Latin-Roman predominating over the Greek-Byzantine element, and the Slav element totally lacking, which proves an urban life with an already formed ecclesiastical organization in the time of the coming of the Slavs to these regions⁴⁰.

From the linguistic standpoint our problems may in the last analysis be formulated as follows: Are there ancient traces of the Albanian in the Balkan Peninsula, and, if there are, where? As it was said above, the written documents of this language which are of a much later time, do not come under consideration here. In these conditions, we must turn to a more ancient material which gives not only a more archaic form of the language, but also information about the geographic stratification and the area of diffusion of the carriers of the language in ancient times.

The old relations of borrowing with the neighbouring languages, but above all ancient proper names, especially place names, come under consideration here. Place names, which are more autochthonous and time-resistant and more closely connected with the area and the land than personal names, which are more transient and more subject to the fashion of the time, are known to reach to a linguistic situation much older than that testified by written sources; they represent, so to say, fixed points within the movement of peoples and languages, and as a consequence are of great assistance in the reconstruction of former situations. Here, however, it must be noted that a scientific study of those names is linked with the observance of some definite principles. First, facts should be approached without preconceptions, and only through objective study can one go over to the building of theories. The old scholastical method of proceeding from some aprioristic truths to which the facts are supposed

40 Cfr. the author, «Revue roumaine de linguistique» VII (1962), p. 168, X (1965), p. 114, «Die Sprache» XIII (1967), p. 47.

to apply, is no use here. And as place names of a given area are always in certain relationship between themselves, parts of a greater whole or system, so they must not be considered isolately, but within their territorial and linguistic links. Besides, the chronological stratification must also be taken into account, distinguishing earlier from later names. And what must be emphasized more than any other thing is that the material should be worked on critically.

Returning to the question that we raised above, it must be said that neither in Pannonia, nor in Dalmatia, nor in Bosnia, nor in Transylvania are there ancient traces of the Albanian. And for this reason alone — other arguments will be given below, contrary to the opinion of the scholar above-mentioned, the northern and the eastern parts of the Balkan Peninsula together, of course, with its southern part — Greece, are excluded as the place of the formation of the Albanian. Proceeding by way of exclusion or elimination (*per exclusionem*), as well limitation (*per restrictionem*), on one hand excluding the areas which do not come under consideration, and on the other hand restricting gradually the area which comes under positive consideration for this purpose, we arrive at a very broad geographical area of the western Balkans. Within this area, among other things, *Naissus*: *Nish*, *Scupi*: *Shkup* and *Astibos*; *Shtip*, as we have said above, prove that Dardania together with the border regions of Macedonia and Paeonia are part of the territory of the formation of the Albanian. If we turn to the linguistic area within the borders of the present Albanian state and ask if the opinion that «the Albanians have inherited no cultural element (such as, for example, personal and place names) from the Antiquity»⁴¹ holds up, the picture is as follows. Beginning from the North, Jokl's opinion

41 I. I. Russu, *Die Sprache der Thrako-Daker* (1969), p. 206. Somewhat more mildly («almost nowhere»), A. Mayer, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier I* (1957), p. 14.

that the name of the city of *Shkodër Shkodra* has not remained uninterruptedly from pre-Roman times to this day within the area of an Albanian-speaking population, as it does not coincide, in the front part of the word and in the consonant group in the body of the word, with the development of the historical phonetic of the Albanian, is valid only for the period studied by this scholar, so it does not affect our problem from the chronological stand-point. We pose the question of the place of formation of the Albanian only for the phase of the evolution of the Albanian in the Antiquity, and for that period the equation, *Scodra*: *Shkodër* coincides perfectly with the phonetic rules of the development of the Albanian; for the front part of the word cfr. Old Greek (Thracian) *skálmne*: Alb. *shkallme* «sword», *skáripfos*: *shkarpë* «dry branches», Lat. *scamnum*: *shkamb* «rock; stool»; for the consonant group in the body of the word cfr. Lat. *bá Rathrum* from Old Greek *bá Rathron*: Alb. *balladër* «waterfall»; Lat. *chersydrus* from Old Greek *khérsydros*: Alb. *kulshedër*. For chronological reasons we cannot agree with this scholar's opinion that place names of the type *Rogami*, *Rogame* with the preservation of -g- in the body of the word disprove an uninterrupted Albanian linguistic tradition: these place names are secondary formations produced relatively late by the Albanian through the addition of a suffix, so that the preservation of the internal guttural is easily explained.

As for the place names of other regions of Albania, Weigand's thesis, which we mentioned above, must be dealt with somewhat more explicitly, not entering, however, into the ethnographic problems he raises. Weigand, despite his undisputable merits in the study of the Balkan languages, including the Albanian, here has committed an error of method by not properly considering the historical order of place names. Apart from the place names which are known from the Antiquity and whose modern Albanian continuation he denies, he takes up to support his thesis a host of Slav place names, specially village names from Northern and Central Albania, neglecting

the fact that in Albania, as in the Balkans in general, an area almost constantly ravaged by wars, village settlements are perhaps more short-lived than anywhere in Europe, so their names cannot possibly be very old. For this reason the names of this type, which in most cases belong to the Middle Ages or the Modern Times, do not come at all under consideration for the problem we are discussing here. Nor do those names of regions, cities, localities or rivers formed with local material, such as *Lim*, *Këlmend*, *Dukagjin*, *Shalë*, *Shosh*, *Anamal*, *Temal*, *Iballë*, *Lumë*, *Krumë*, *Lurë*, *Dejë*, *Mirditë*, *Bulgër*, *Kthellë*, *Blinisht*, *Kallmet*, *Giadër*, *Thumanë*, *Krue*, *Tomadhe*, *Përrenjas*, *Gramsh*, *Shpat*, *Lushnje*, *Fier*, *Labëri*, *Kuç*, *Prevezë*, come under consideration either, although they are, true, of a certain age, but not of the period of the Antiquity, and are not recorded in the documents of the time. Under consideration come mainly the names of cities, mountains and rivers which appear in the Antiquity or in the period towards its end, and here a comparison of their ancient forms with the local forms in contemporary use shows an evolution which is in harmony with the phonetic development of the Albanian. I have for many years now arrived at this conclusion,⁴² and shall deal here once again with this question as briefly as possible, without, however, undertaking the refutation of opposite opinions. In the first place, we must note that the names of the Antiquity, as is known, appear either in their Greek or Latin form, which does not always represent the precise reflection of the forms generally used by the local population. As the language

⁴² *Albanology* (1947), p. 42 and ff., the «Bulletin of the State University of Tirana», Series of social sciences XII (1958) no. 2, p. 34 and ff. XVI (1962) no. 4, p. 122 and ff., p. 136; VII Congress International di Scienze Onomastiche (1961), p. 241 and ff.; «Revue roumaine de linguistique» VII (1962), p. 162 and ff., X (1965), p. 194 and ff.; *Actes du premier Congrès des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes VI* (1968), p. 44; *Studia Albanica VII* 1 (1970), p. 162 and ff. p. 167.

of the Roman administration — more or less as the Ottoman administration would do later, must not have strictly observed the local form of place names, so we are unable to reconstruct their phonetic form, especially their accent, with precision.

Proceeding from place names of non-Latin origin and going from north to south, besides *Naissus*, *Scupi* and *Scodra*, which we gave above, to the north of *Oulkinion*: *Ulqi Ulqin* and of the area of the Albanian, we have the name of *Ragusa*, *Ragusium*, with its ancient Albanian variant of *Rush*, which shows the intermediation of the Albanian. To the south, the name of the city which in Greek is given as *Lissos* and in Latin as *Lissus* and in Albanian *Lesh*, appears in a form which congrues fully with *shpesh* from Lat. *spissus* «thick». *Qafa e Prushit* which is sited in the north may be the continuation of the name of the *Pirusts* (*Pirustae*, *Perustae*, after an opinion expressed by A. Saraçi) with the evolution of the *st* group into *sh* as in the word *teshë* from Lat. *testa* «shell; skull; head». Into this category may also enter *Candavia*: the Mediaeval bishopric of *Chunavia*, with the transformation of *nd* into *n*, which is regular in Albanian. More to the east the name of the mountain which the Greek authors give as *Scárdos*, *Skárdon*, and the Romans as *Scárdus mons* has developed, according to the phonetic laws of the Albanian, into the present-day *Shar*, a name which passed from the Albanian to the other Balkan languages, including the Turkish. The names of the rivers *Drinus*: *Drî Drini* and *Mathis*: *Mat* were mentioned above, so there is no need to re-examine them. Another extension of the Albanian through the suffix *-n*, *Skampin-*, Lat. *Scampinus*, a derivative of *Scampis* of the Antiquity (the *Elbasan* of today), was regularly transformed in Albanian speech into *Shkumbi Shkumbini*, with the slurring of the pre-tonic *-ë-* into *-u-* in the dialect of Central Albania and with the assimilation of the *-mb-* group into *-m-* in the Geg dialect. In the south, the name of the coastal city of *Vlora*, Gr. *Aulon* (in Ptolemy) which, had it been transmitted through the

intermediation of the Slav, would have resulted, according to Weigand himself, in a **Valinb*, has given *Vlonë* and *Vlorë* according to the phonetic laws of the Albanian, with the regular apheresis of the *a* and the successive rhotacism of the Tosk dialect. In the southernmost part of Albania, the form *Çam-* of *Çamëria* gives an example of the denomination of a region from the name of the river that flows through it: here, as M. Leake had noticed before⁴³, has been preserved the ancient name of the River Thyamis, which is unknown in modern Greek and replaced with the name Kalamas.

Going over to trisyllabic place names, we find among others, *Dyrhachion*, *Dyrrachium*: Alb. *Durrës*, *Isamnus flumen* (in Vibius Sequester): Alb. *Ishëm*, *Ishm* (a river which flows into the Adriatic to the north of *Durrës* and a locality with the same name), to which must be added *Drivastum*: Alb. *Drisht* and *Polatum*: Alb. *Pulët*, today *Pult*, which are recorded in early Mediaeval documents. Adopting Krahe's opinion to the effect that the Illyrian, like the Common German, the Keltic and the Italic languages, had an initial accentuation⁴⁴, we think that in local speech these names must have been pronounced *Dúrrach-*, *Ísamn-*, *Drívast-*, *Pólat-*, *Púlat-*, etc., and their direct continuations are preserved in the forms of their modern names. For *Drivastum* we have today *Drisht*, an evolution which was first noticed by P. Skok⁴⁵. For *Durrës*, W. Cimochofski, in opposition to Skok, who derived the present form of this name from an ancient Slav form of **Dračb*⁴⁶, as well as myself, think that this form is the result of the uninterrupted evolution of the Pre-

⁴³ *Researches in Greece* (1814), p. 13.

⁴⁴ *Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft* (1943), p. 34; Skok also said something to this effect, *Arhiv za arb. starinu I* (1923), p. 10 and ff.

⁴⁵ *Arhiv za arb. starinu I*, p. 10 and ff.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, II (1925), p. 11 and ff. Skok abandoned this opinion later.

Roman-Doric name of the city⁴⁷. Cimochofski thinks, and his way of thinking is very plausible, that this evolution has gone through the degrees: Doric Gr. *Dúr-rakhion*: Illyr. *Durakium*, Alb. **Durraç*: *Durrës*. In *Isamnus* a word form augmented with an *-mn-* element, like for example, the name of the river *Sedamnos* in Crete⁴⁸, in Albanian *-mn-* was regularly assimilated into *-m-*, as in *gjumë* against Lat. *somnus*. From both the territorial and the typological standpoint the ancient name of the Albanians, *Arbën*, *Arbër*, connected with the *Albanoi* of Ptolemy's World Atlas, also enters into this group of trisyllabic place names. This name, in accordance with what was said above, must have been pronounced in the local speech as 'Albanoi, with initial accentuation. In opposition to H. Hirt, H. Pedersen has proved that this name, because of its *b* (not *v*!) could not have been borrowed from the Greek in a later time, but must have been in long use among the Albanians.⁴⁹ The name, however, because of the *r* (not *l*!) cannot be either of Latin origin, and because of the *arb-* (not *rab-*!), of Slav origin. It stems from a local name of the Antiquity which belongs to the same geographical area as *Drivastum*, *Isamnus*, *Durrachium*, etc. In connection with the place of formation of the Albanian language, the continuation of the national name of the Albanians from the Antiquity to our days is not certainly without importance. The Byzantine form *Arvanon*, together with the denominations of the Albanian nation in the neighbouring languages must, in these conditions, have derived from the Albanian; from the form of the Old Serb Raban «Albania» it is clear, on the other hand, that the name *Labëri* could not have derived through metathesis from an **Albëri* according to a phonetic law of the Slav, as many scholars have claimed after Gustav Meyer.

In order to conclude this discussion of trisyllabic

47 *Lingua Posnaniensis* VIII (1960), p. 135 and ff.

48 About this, see H. Krahe, *Sprache und Vorzeit* (1954), p. 54.

49 KZ 36 (1960), p. 299.

place names in their territorial and linguistic relationship we shall note that P. Kretschmer and other scholars after him, from the evidence of such old forms as *Brundisium*, *Hydruntum*, *Tarentun* recorded in ancient documents, have come to the conclusion that there was also an initial accentuation in the linguistic area of the Messapian,⁵⁰ and more recently A. Mayer⁵¹ and M. Durante⁵² have adopted this opinion and, on the basis of some interesting cases, have extended it to the Illyrian in the Balkans. In connection with the Albanian, I allow myself to repeat here⁵³ that the initial accentuation in the Illyrian and the mechanical regulation of accentuation in the Albanian according to the principle of paroxytonic accentuation, as observed by N. Jokl, historically do not annul, but on the contrary, supplement each other. The fixing of the accentuation on this syllable in the Albanian shows that this language, with the frequent loss of the end syllables in the course of its development, from initial accentuation went over to paroxytonic accentuation, going from a dactylic rhythm of the word (vv) to a trochaic rhythm of the word (vv), as clearly shown in the cases of the type *Īsamnus: Īshēm*. I cannot agree with what A. Mayer says (II 161), namely, that the mechanical regulation of the accentuation in the Albanian has erased all traces of the ancient accentuation in this language, or with what Durante (p. 44) says, namely, that the history of the Albanian knows no period of initial accentuation, and that this language has an accentuation fixed on the syllable before the last, which with the

50 *Glotta* XIV (1924), p. 90, — F. Ribezzo, «Rivista indogreca-italica» XII (1928), p. 202; F. Altheim, *Geschichte der lat. Sprache* (1951), p. 315.

51 *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier* II, p. 161.

52 *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, Sezione Linguistica I (1959), p. 1, and ff., p. 41 and ff. About the name of the city of Pésaro in Italy from Pisaurum cfr. Skok, *Archive* I, p. 20.

53 Cfr. *Studia albanica* VII 1 (1970), p. 167.

disappearance of vowels and contraction in final syllables, became often the end syllable.

With the question of Latin and Roman place names I will deal more briefly. Weigand's opinion that Latin place names in Albanian appear not in Albanian phonetic form, but in Latin-Old Dalmatian phonetic form — an opinion which, it seems to me, is in some contradiction with another opinion of his, namely that in Albanian there is no trace of Old Dalmatian influence for a later time — this opinion does not withstand criticism. If we look at such place names as *Petrosa*, *Valbona*, *Domni*, *Potosa*, *Mallakastr*, *Kastrati*, *Surella*, *Oblika*, which are given there as Dalmatian, only for the known fact that in Dalmatian short and long vowels in open and closed syllable undergo different diphthongizations, it is difficult to attribute these place-names to the Dalmatian.⁵⁴ As in that language short *o* in open syllable has given *u* and in closed syllable *ua*, and the long *o* in open syllable has given *au* and in closed syllable has given *a*, *Valbona* and *Domni*, on one hand, and *Petrosa* and *Patosa*, on the other, would have appeared in a phonetic form quite different from the existing one, and the same *mutatis mutandis*, may be said about *Oblika*, *Surella*, etc. On the other hand, it is proved, especially by N. Jokl, that Latin place names, despite their different treatment, which is chronologically conditioned, because Roman influence lasted for more than seven centuries in succession, a fact which Weigand has overlooked, comply fully with the laws of the phonetic development of the Albanian. They change gradually and in the same manner as the respective Latin borrowings, so much so that it is often difficult to distinguish one element from the other. We may only give as examples *castellum*: *Këshqel* along with *kështjel*, *Corvinus*: *Kurbî*, *crupta*, *crypta*: *Groftat*, *essuctus*: *Proni Sift*, *publica*: *Pukë* along with *udhë e pukë* «publica via», *rivulus*: *Rrjoll*, *subterraneum*: *Shu-*

⁵⁴ Cfr. also Stadtmüller, op. cit., p. 93 and ff., although his way of reasoning is different,

treja Shutrrija, fil(i)cetum: Fulqet, vinealis: Vingjall, the two last ones in Mat, the last one also in Kurbi⁵⁵. Here also come village names, such as *Vilë, Fila* spread all over the country which derive from Lat. villa «village house; latifundium», which do not exist in the general language. Here the problem emerges whether place names of this type, which are not so numerous, represent a toponomastic utilization of the Latin elements of the Albanian vocabulary, as in the case of *Gushti, Fulqet, Kallmet, Kunorë, Qelzë, Qerret, Shkortull, Vjerdhë* etc., hence, those who named them in this way were Albanians, or the question is, at least partially, about names which do not figure among the Latin elements of the Albanian vocabulary, that is, which are the last linguistic relicts of former Roman elements in the Albanian. The question of the continued existence of such ethnic-linguistic elements of Roman provincial origin closely related to those of Dalmatian origin, an existence which a number of scholars think of having lasted until the Late Middle Ages, represents a scientific problem which deserves to be examined further.

In my opinion the question raised recently, especially by I. Popović, in the formulation «either the Slavs or the Albanians have come first to Albania», constitutes no problem. In agreement with Weigand and Seliščev and in opposition to Jokl and Barić, relying on toponomastic material in which some pre-Roman and Latin place names appear in Slav and Albanian form, this scholar comes to the conclusion that these names have not evolved according to the phonetic laws of the Albanian, but always clearly according to the laws of the Slav⁵⁶. This question

55 The place name *Kumul* is not the reflection of the Lat. *cumulus* (F. Nopcsa) but of the Alb. *kumbull*. The names *Vinjáll* and *Fulqét* do not speak in favour of Stadtmüller's opinion (p. 96) that there are no Latin place names in Mat.

56 Z.f. slav Phil. XXVI. p. 301 and ff., *Geschichte der serbo-kroatischen Sprache*, p. 79 and ff., p. 157 and ff.

has got its answer from what was said above. Without dwelling on detail and singling out the many errors of the authors, I want here only to note the fact, which has not been noticed up to now, that these place names while being limited to the onomastic field as far as the Slav is concerned, often show semantic relationship with non-onomastic material, with the appellative vocabulary, as far as the Albanian is concerned. For instance, the name of the river Lim is *lym*, *lim* «river mud» in Albanian, and in turn derives from the Albanian verb *lyej*. As for the river of North Albania which is called *Bojana* in Serbocroatian, the form *Bojanë*, which is frequently given as the Albanian name, is only a bookish name (*mot savant*) which does not exist at all in Albanian, because the popular name of this river is *Bunë*, or *Buenë* in its older form, as in *Sancti Benedicti de Buena* in 1406, and this goes with *buenë*, *bujenë*, *boenë* «flood», a name which is related to the Albanian and is also found in its southern dialects. The name *Dejë* (*Vau i Dejës*, Old Serb *Danb* = *Danj-*, Med. It. *Dagno*, is considered by Popović as etymologically obscure, although it appears also in Mat and has no connection with the Old Serb *Danb* «customs» but is easily explained with the linguistic means of the Albanian, in which *dêjë* means «snow thaw; shallow». The name of the river *Mat* *Mati*, Lat. «*Mathis Dyrrachi non longe a Lisso* (Vibius Sequester)» and Old Serb *Matb* is related to the appellative field of the Albanian, because *mat* in the northern Geg dialect means «river shore» and in the dialect of the Albanians of Calabria «sea shore». These examples are sufficient to form an idea about the mutual historical relationship of these bi-lingual Albanian-Slav place names, as well as to shed light on more recent couples, such as *Bjeshkët e Nemuna*: *Prokletije*, *Ujmirë*: *Dobrovoda*, as well as some more ancient ones as *Oulkinion*: *Ulcin*, *Drinus*: *Drim*, *Dyrrachium*: *Draç*, and some others. This relationship becomes even more evident if account is taken of the reflection of river and place names of the Antiquity

in Rumania and the Slav intermediation apparent in these names.⁵⁷

The question whether, apart from the phonetic and etymological analysis, the morphological analysis of place names can help solve the problem of the definition of the ancient linguistic area of the Albanian, can be answered in the affirmative, in my opinion. The postpositive article which serves as the exponent of definition in Albanian and which is proved to have existed in this language since the pre-Antiquity period, appears in its double form — masc. *-i* and fem. *-a*, in such ancient names as *Scupi*, *Scampis*, *Mathis* on one hand, and *Scodra*, *Butua*, *Doclea*, on the other. Although, as it was said above, it is not always clear how the Greeks and Romans rendered foreign proper names, still it may be imagined that the Romans, when they had to deal with these names, included those of the type of *Scupi* in the category of place names in plural of the type of *Valerii*, *Veii* (as the Greeks did with their *Skoupoi*) and the local forms of the type **Skampi* and **Mati*, like *Scampis* and *Mathis*, in the scheme of their third declension (*finis*, *auris*), as the Byzantines did later, when they included their form *he Mate* (i *Mati*) in the scheme of their feminine nouns. The grouping of the nouns of the type *Scodra* in the class of nominal themes ending in *-a* of the Greek and Latin was even easier for them.

In order to make the picture of the place names we examined above more complete, we must site them in space and time. An eventual objection that phonetic laws exercise their influence also on very distant place names, is answered that, as seen by experience, only place names of the nearest territorial area are usually integrated into the phonetical structure of a language, especially there where, as in our case, we have to do with a whole system of such toponyms. As for the

57 Cfr. about this E. Petrovici Dacoromania X, p. 266, «Revue roumaine d'histoire» IV (1956), p. 6 and ff.; I. I. Russu, ibidem, p. 889.

eventual chronological objection that the carriers of a given language manage to adapt foreign place names to their own phonetical system, as occurs, for example, with Slovene place names in German dialects and with German place names in Slovene dialects, here it must be borne in mind that in the alterations in form of place names figure almost all ancient phonetical alterations which appear in the treatment of the Albanian vocabulary or its Old Greek or Latin borrowings.

The examination of personal names is no use here, because in this question they shed no more light than onomastic science has done up to now.

A few words about Albanian navigation terms.⁵⁸ Weigand's opinion that the Albanian navigation and fishing terms are of foreign origin and that all Albanian terms of navigation are either alien or new, in the form it has been expressed, is too absolute and as such cannot be fully accepted. Analysing this problem as a whole by a correct method and also taking into account the enrichment of this material with the passing of time, the question presents itself as follows: This sphere of the Albanian vocabulary is in fact mostly of foreign origin, but this applies mainly to its technical part, to most of the terms of navigation means and their components, names for fish and fish species and fishing tools. The situation is not very dissimilar in the other languages of the Balkan coastal regions, including modern Greek, a language which is known for certain not to have changed its territory.⁵⁹ On the other part, it must be said that along words of foreign origin, the Albanian also has words of local origin for the sea in general and the ship

58 Cfr., in particular, VII Congresso Internaz. di Scienze Onomastiche, p. 247 and ff.; «Revue roumaine de linguistique» X, p. 104; «Studia albanica» VII 1, p. 164 and ff.

59 About navigation terms of Roman origin in Middle Greek cfr. M. Triandaphyllidis, *Die Lehnwörter der mittelhellenischen Vulgärliteratur* (1909), p. 131, 139, 143.

and its parts, the fish and its parts, as well as fishing tools. Here enter, among others *det* (which means in essence «depth»), *va*, *gji* (*deti*), *grykë* (*deti*), *mat*, *valë*, *suvalë*, *shkulm*; then *anije* which is connected with *an*, *anë* pl. *enë* with *enët e mëdhaja*, *enët e vogla* «big ships, small ships», *ena ujtis* «the ship leaks», *ballë* (i *anijes*), *shul*, *pëlhurë*, *lugatë* «scoop» and a host of fish names; *krehër*, «fish backbone», *halë* «fish bone», *verzë* «gill», *gjuej* «to hunt and fish»; and various kinds of fishing nets such as *rahçë*, *njicë* and *palcuër* «long net rod». Rich is the popular terminology for marine fauna and flora with *breshkujcë*, *iriq deti*, *leshterik* «alga» (from *lesh*), *likurishtë* «polyp» (from *likurë*), *yll deti*, etc. Considered as a whole, this lexical sphere, in the ratio between the inherited and the borrowed elements, presents a picture which is not essentially different from that of other spheres, such as clothing, agriculture, trade, handicrafts, or broadly speaking, the general vocabulary of the Albanian, about which it is known that the borrowed words predominate over inherited words. Here, too, insufficient knowledge of the Albanian vocabulary has led often to incorrect conclusions. The fact that part of these terms are in limited dialectal use does not mean that all of them are new. And if partially — as it occurs with other languages, they have been produced in metaphorical manner with the transfer of meaning (*ballë*, *enë*, *grykë*, *gji*, *krehër*, *pëlhurë*, *shul*, etc.), and if they are also used for continental waters, it cannot logically be deduced that in ancient times they have not existed as popular terms of navigation.

Finally, in the question of the place of formation of the Albanian, the relations of borrowing of this language with the neighbouring languages, both what the Albanian has borrowed from them and what these languages have borrowed also from the Albanian must also be borne in mind. It is known that the former have been studied extensively, while the latter have not been dealt with sufficiently. Both categories of borrowing deserve particular attention, as they can contribute to the

elucidation of the more ancient phases of development of the languages in question, including the Albanian⁶⁰. However, it must be said that the study of the relations of the Albanian with the other living languages of the Balkans, the south Slav, the middle and modern Greek and the Rumanian, shows that these relations produce nothing positive, either from the standpoint of linguistic geography or linguistic history, about the problem in question here. Here the facts of language agree with those of history, as the relations of the Albanian with the above languages begin only in the period following the Antiquity and in the Middle Ages and this, in return, is proof that question of the ancient Homeland of the Albanians is connected with the conditions of the Antiquity.

In regard to the Rumanian in particular, Weigand's theses, namely, that «the Rumanian-Albanian relations of non-Latin origin indicate an ancient co-existence of the Albanians and Rumanians», that «there are in Rumanian Latin elements whose form can be explained only by supposing that they have been introduced there through the intermediation of the Albanian», that «the Latin elements of the Albanian and Rumanian coincide so clearly that they must have been created in the same cultural, linguistic and habitat conditions», lead to the conclusion that the Albanian and the Rumanian were formed within a triangle in the central Balkans, which was mentioned above, where the common Old Rumanian, according to Weigand's opinion, assumed its many non-Roman, Albano-Thracian peculiarities in the 7th and 8th centuries. It is not the place here to deal with the questions connected with these theses, the more so as some of them have been dealt with and, I believe, answered accordingly in what was said above. I shall say only that

60 Cfr. the author, *Some More Ancient Phases of the Albanian in the Light of the Neighbouring Languages*, Scientific review of the Two-year Teacher Training Institute of Shkodra, 1 (1964), p. 5 and ff.; Z. f. *Balkanologie* II (1964), p. 6 and ff.

the argumentation of these theses is quite insufficient. Here we may deal in brief, only insofar as it has to do with the problem in question, with the known substratum theory formulated by Miklosić, a theory as much debated as it is controversial, according to which the common elements of these two languages derive from a third source. For reasons of linguistic geography, also, it is in principle possible that one or the other common word of these two languages may derive from an ancient non-Greek language of the Balkans. However, leaving this point aside, this theory comes up against some major objections. First, the concept of a substratum is connected with a change of language; such a change has occurred in the territory of the Rumanian, but not in the territory of the Albanian, where the concept of filiation comes more in question. Apart from this many couples of Albanian-Rumanian words turn out to be internal and relatively new formations of the Albanian. If we also consider the fact that on the other hand, there is no lack of Rumanian elements in the Albanian, then the mutual relations of the two languages may, for their major part, be reduced to the influence of an adstratum, supposing that the more eastern branches of the Albanian and the more western branches of the Rumanian have been in relations of neighbourliness in the post-Antiquity period. In these conditions, I do not think that the Albanian-Rumanian concordances can bring any argument of weight in favour of a more eastern place of the formation of the Albanian.

If we turn to the relations of borrowing of the Albanian in the period of the Antiquity, then the Old Greek and Latin elements of the Albanian indicate that the ancient history of this language has developed in the immediate sphere of the Greco-Roman cultural world and its linguistic influence. The few more or less sure pre-Albanian elements in the two classic languages indicate the same thing.

Here I must say that, first, certain borrowings from the Old Greek not only are not lacking, as is known

since A. Thumb, but that they are more numerous than it is generally thought, totalling about thirty words, apart from some less certain elements, especially those which seem to have been introduced by means of the Latin. It is remarkable that some of the borrowings from Old Greek are of the Doric type, such as *brukë* «Tamarix gallica» from *myrike*, *drapën drapër* from **drápanon* for *drépanon* (cfr. *drápene* today in Kephallonia, in Crete and in the Tsakonian, which according to G. Hatzidakis, is a leftover of the Doric⁶¹, and then *trápana* in southern Italy),⁶² *kumbull* from *kokkýmalon* (phonetically *kok-kúmalon*), *merimangë* from *mýrmaks mýrmakos* in Theocritus, *mokën mokër* from *mákhana*, *mollë* from *málon*, *qull* from *khýlos khulos*), *shkop* from *skapos* «branch», *trumzë* «Thymus» from *thymbra* (cfr. *thrumba* in Kephallonia and Rhodos today, *trumba*, *tromba* in the Greek of southern Italy).⁶³ Other Old Greek elements may also be derived from the Doric, but their form makes it difficult to discern whether they belong to this dialect. These Dorisms are important for our problem, because the question arises, where the Albanian has taken these words from? If the place of formation of the Albanian is sited in the Central Balkans or even more to the east, the way of penetration of these borrowings remain unexplained. The opinion that these words have been introduced into the internal regions of the Balkans through commercial exchanges with Doric settlers,⁶⁴ comes up against the fact that millstones and cooking herbs are not generally commercial goods. Here the question why this kind of words does not figure in the Rumanian

61 *Einleitung in die Geschichte der neugriechischen Sprache*, p. 104,

62 G. Rohlfs *Etymol. Wörterbuch der un. Gräzität* 571, *Lexicon graecanicum Italiae inferioris*, p. 131.

63 G. Rohlfs *Etymol. Wörterbuch*, p. 796, *Lex. graec.* p. 181.

64 Cfr. Haebler *Südost-Forschungen* XXIII (1964), p. 426. Stadtmüller p. 81, note 24.

would remain unanswered, as well as that of the presence of Old Greek elements in that language in general. If we refer to history, we shall see that in ancient times there were many Doric settlements such as *Lissos*, *Epidamnos*, *Apollonia*, *Aulon* and *Orychon* on the Albanian coast and, among others, *Amantia*, *Byllis*, *Phoinike* and *Bouthroton* in the hinterland, most of them founded on the sites of existing local settlements. In the extreme south the Epirotic tribes were in contact with the north-western Doric dialect of Epirus, Acarnania and Aetolia. It is more probable that the borrowings from these colonies and from the north-western Greek dialects may have been introduced among the forefathers of the present-day Albanians both from the coast and the continent. This means that the Doric settlers found these words already in use among the local population, or that at the time when the Doric dialect was in general use in the coastal cities, their inhabitants had frequent contacts with a pre-Albanian population. This conclusion is also proved by the fact that in the above-mentioned words, those which have a -u- have been borrowed at an earlier stage — when a u-pronunciation, which was general in prehistoric times and lived on in many dialects in historical times, was still in use.⁶⁵

Both in volume and form, the Latin elements of the Albanians are destined to make an essential contribution to the elucidation of the problem of the place of formation of the Albanian. As for the volume of these borrowings, the fact that this language has been subject to a very strong Roman influence should not be overlooked,⁶⁶ either. In relation to form, it has been noticed long since (B. Kopitar 1829) that the Albanian, with its pronunciation of *k* as occlusive palatal before *e* and *i* (*ke ki*), has preserved an older situation, thereby

65 About this pronunciation see E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik* I (1939), p. 181.

66 H. Pedersen, *The Discovery of Language. Linguistic Science in the 19th Century* (1967), p. 68,

distancing itself from the Rumanian. With this and with the treatment of *ki*, the Latin elements of the Albanian, according to Meyer-Lübke, represent an evolution phase older than that of any other Roman language.⁶⁷ To this must be added that the Albanian departs from the Rumanian also in the reflection of the Lat. *tj*. While for S. Puscariu this reflection in the Rumanian is characteristic of all Roman languages, that is, belongs in all cases to the 3rd century of our era,⁶⁸ the treatment of it in the Albanian, as Jokl⁶⁹ notes, leads us to a more ancient time, a phenomenon which has importance for the history of the language. And if we take account of the lexical elements, the intermediary position of the Albanian in connection with them, that is, the affinities of the Albanian with the Rumanian and the Dalmatian, on the one hand, and, to a considerable degree, also with the Western Roman languages, on the other, it is impossible not to see that, apart from time factors, on this state of things space factors have also exercised their influence. While this archaic character of the Latin element of the Albanian leads to a period which precedes the Romanization of Dacia, these phenomena, together with the toponomastic material, clearly show that the Rumanian and the Albanian have been formed in different areas of the Balkan Peninsula.

This is an attempt at posing the problem of the place of formation of the Albanian in general outline and a contribution to its solution. Many problems connected with this question remain unsolved and call for further research in the future.

The result of our research is that the Albanian has been formed more or less in its present linguistic area, including the coast, and this area has not undergone

67 Mitteilungen der Instituts für rum. Sprache, Wien (1914), p. 32.

68 Locul limbii române între limbile romanice (1920), p. 27.

69 Arhiv za arb. starinu I, p. 43.

any essential change in the course of centuries.⁷⁰ Dardania and Northern Albania, together with the region of Mat, must be considered only part of the ancient linguistic area, not the whole of it.⁷¹ The conclusion emerging from the Mat theory, namely, that the present area of the Albanian is an area of expansion, must be revised in keeping with the more recent historical data. It must also be considered whether the present area is rather an area of restriction, or whether both conceptions are correct for different historical epochs, the first for a more recent period, the Early and the Later Middle Ages, and the second for an earlier period of the language.

70 Cf. also Sufflay, *Ungarische Rundschau* V (1916), p. 11.

71 *Albanology* (1947), p. 46.

FROM THE ILLYRIANS TO THE ARBËRS*

(Early Albanians)

It is difficult to treat such extensive a problem as that of the Illyrian-Albanian continuity in a short exposé. The task is made still more arduous by the fact that we have to do with a lengthy, almost one thousand-year long period, that for certain periods there are no written sources at all and the archaeological material available is as yet insufficient. Besides this, the problem of the Illyrian-Albanian continuity presents two major questions, the «Romanization» of the Illyrians and the ethnic changes which occurred in the Balkans on the eve of the Middle Ages, about which different theses and theories are known to exist. It is true that linguistic studies have made some progress, however, the problem remains none the less complicated. Therefore, we must treat the most fundamental questions of the ancient history of Albania

* Reproduced from «Conference of Illyrian Studies», Tirana, September 15-20, 1972, II, Tirana 1974, pp. 24-47.

and, in particular, those which have to do with the genesis of the Albanian people. Obviously, the questions will be treated within some limits, while the topic we want to treat is mainly supported by archaeology. We will try to use the archaeological material to trace the phases through which the transition from Antiquity to Early Middle Ages took place, and the historical conditions in which the ancient Illyrian population, which the Byzantine chroniclers from the 11th century on call Albanoi, Arbanitoi (Arbër), has preserved itself. Hence, we must show which have been the characteristic features of the material culture of one millennium, which includes the time of Roman occupation, Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages and through this, trace the continuity from the Illyrians to the Arbërs. The cultural and archaeological reality which we know throws light on the problem of the Illyrian-Albanian continuity, and raises the need to elucidate on the «Romanization» of the Illyrians.

1. The first contacts of the Romans with the Southern Illyrians belong to the second half of the 3rd century b.o.e., the time when Rome began the wars for the occupation of Illyria. The three Illyrian-Roman wars enabled the Romans to make closer observations of the geography of Southern Illyria, of the economic resources, the social order and the material and spiritual culture of its inhabitants.

In the 3rd-1st centuries b.o.e. there was no great difference between Southern Illyria and its eastern and southern neighbours, regarding both the economic and cultural development and the political organization. Almost all the regions of Southern Illyria had an active urban life. The Greek and Roman authors who describe the events of the time of the invasions by the Romans and others, mention a number of names of Illyrian towns. On the other hand, archaeological excavations of recent years have brought to light a number of ruins of fortified Illyrian settlements, thereby the ancient written sources have been confirmed. The excavations in the ruins of those Illyrian towns, and these are not few, have revealed

a rich archaeological material, which speaks of a considerable economic and cultural development of Southern Illyria in the 3rd-1st centuries b.o.e.

The first conclusion we draw is that when the Romans invaded Southern Illyria they found an economically developed country, in which the slave-owning relations had been consolidated, a population a large part of which lived in cities and had a material and spiritual culture with Hellenic influences. The archaeological material found in the ruins of many Illyrian towns shows that even in the new political situation created after the year 146 b.o.e., when part of Southern Illyria was included in the province of Macedonia, no essential transformations occurred. The military invasions and the wars were of consequence, but Rome still had not completely liquidated the local production and the Republican coins had not completely replaced the drachmas of Dyrrachium and Apollonia, which circulated even in Thracia and Dacia in the 1st century b.o.e. It is true that in the middle of the 1st century, in the time of Caesar, some changes are observed, but what the Roman Republic failed to achieve was to be done on a large-scale only by the Roman Empire.

2. In the second period, which includes the first centuries of our era, the time when Roman culture penetrated and was stabilized in the Balkans, the economic and cultural situation of Southern Illyria began to change. Roman colonists began to settle in the cities of Dyrrachium, Byllis, Bouthroton and Scodra, under Augustus. Lissus, which according to Pliny had Roman citizenship, became a municipal town since the time of Caesar.¹ All the four colonies and the municipal town of Lissus were situated on the coastal regions.

The Roman colonization had a great influence on the Illyrian population, especially in those parts where

1 Pliny l. h. III, 22 (26). F. Prendi and K. Zheku, *Lissus in the Light of New Archaeological Data*, in «Monuments», no. 2, 1971, p. 16.

Roman colonists settled. Elements of the Roman civilization penetrated also the interior of Illyrian territories. Roman pottery became wide-spread, causing a uniformity in many products of pottery, and introducing many work tools which were more handy and more perfected, as well as metallic ornaments. The owners of some Roman workshops opened their branches in the colonies in Southern Illyria. Among these were the renowned candle-works *Fortis* and *Felix*. The trademark stamp on these products bear the name of Byllis alongside the name of the shop-owner. The spread of Latin as the language of inscriptions began in the 1st century of our era. According to the Rumanian Latinist, H. Mihaescu, Latin inscriptions are the clearest and most readable proofs among archaeological traces which speak of the spread of the Roman culture in the southeastern part of Europe.² The Romans brought to Illyria the deities of their Pantheon, the cult of which also spread in the Illyrian provinces. In some cities new public and social buildings were set up.

This being the general aspect of Southern Illyria during the 1st-3rd centuries of our era, we ask whether this can be equalized with the «Romanization» of the southern Illyrians? According to the scholar of Illyrian studies, Jon Russu, «the imprint of Rome on Illyria has been deep and continuous: Romanization was carried out through the language and anthroponymy, religion and some socio-political manifestations»³. If the facts and arguments in support of the Romanization are examined more thoroughly, they speak rather against this process. However, let us consider these manifestations of

2 H. Mihaescu, *La diffusion de la langue latine dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe*, in *Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes*, tome IX-1971, no. 3, p. 499.

3 I. I. Russu, *Illyrii, Istoria, limba si onomastica romanizarea*, Bucurest 1969, pp. 128-135 (Ocupatia romana, Romanizarea. Disparatiia limbii illyrie).

Romanization as they emerge from archaeological discoveries.

A strong argument in favour of the thesis of the Romanization of the Illyrians and other peoples is the presence of Latin inscriptions, the frequency and distribution of which is claimed to be proof of the existence of a Latinophone population. However, the number of Latin inscriptions found in the present territory of Albania is very small in comparison with other Roman provinces. The 200 inscriptions found in a territory situated close to Rome and in a geographical position which facilitated the spread of Latin cannot be taken as proof of the Romanization of this territory.

The distribution of inscriptions in the northern part of the country, in the two main towns of the north — Scodra and Lissus — is very limited. A few occasional inscriptions have been found in the district of Shkodra, whereas in the neighbourhood of Lissus we have found none of them. They are found along the main roads linking Lissus and Scodra with the northern and north-eastern regions of Illyria, especially the localities of Margegaj (Tropoja) and Kolesjan (Kukës) in Northeastern Albania.⁴

The second zone of Latin inscriptions, as the more extensive, and one in which more than half of the Latin inscriptions of Albania have been found, is the colony of Dyrrachium. Most of the inscriptions found there belong to the city. The localities of the zone of Kavaja, Tirana and Elbasan (according to an inscription the latter appear to have been a *vicus*, i.e. village, of Dyrrachium in the beginnings of its existence) are included in the periphery of Dyrrachium.

4 See P. C. Sestieri, *Latin Inscriptions in Albania*, in «Studies and Texts», 2nd branch, archaeology; no. 1, Tirana 1943, and II. Ceka — S. Anamali, *Unpublished latin inscriptions in Albania*, in «Bulletin of the State University of Tirana», series of social sciences, 1961, pp. 103-104.

The third zone in which Latin inscriptions have been found is the zone with Byllis as its centre. They are found in small numbers in peasant settlements in the Vjosa valley. The colony of Bouthroton is the only centre of the southern province in which Latin inscriptions have been discovered.

The milestones found in some localities along the important roads of that time, or the inscriptions carved in the western hillside of the harbour in Karaburun (south of Vlora), cannot be considered as evidence of the presence of a Latinophone population there. Likewise, a Latin votive inscription found in Apollonia, or a bilingual inscription in Amantia is not evidence enough to prove such a phenomenon especially when the other inscriptions of the Roman time in both cities appear in Greek, even when they have an official character.

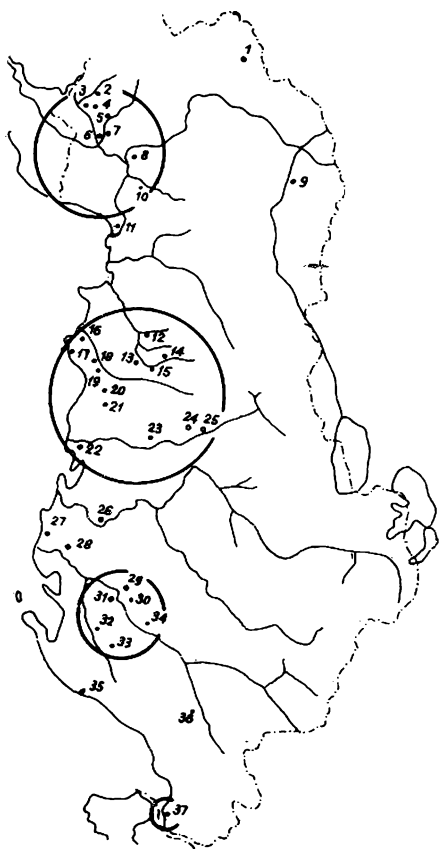
These microzones, in which Latin inscriptions have been found, with the exclusion of Dyrrachium and its surrounding region, provide no argument to prove «the widespread use of written and spoken Latin» among the Southern Illyrians or the presence of a large Latin-speaking population in the territory of present-day Albania. However we must not overlook the fact that the Latin inscriptions found in Albania in the four zones of their distribution, apart from other things, carry tens of Illyrian names such as Gent, Epikad, Platura, Plator, Klevata, Tata, Anai, Anyla, Anea, Savila, Dastid, Pladomen, Sura, Pyram, etc., which are ancient in this territory of Illyria and constitute an important link in the chain of proofs of the survival of the Illyrian population during the Roman occupation. An example which proves our point is provided by a Latin inscription found in a grave in the vicinity of Scampini, in which apart from the local name *Lupus* (Ujk) appears the ethnic name *parthin* and the birthplace *Latio*, which we believe is the present-day Laç (Northern Albania).

Besides this, there are whole regions in which, so far, no Latin inscription has been found. The southeastern territory of Albania inhabited by the Dassarettes, who in

the time of Pliny were «Illyrians», proves our case. The few inscriptions of the Roman time found in this territory consist of two votive plates in the village of Memelisht on the western shore of the Lake Ohër. They are written in Greek although the inscriptions are about Latin personal nouns. Greek is again used in the inscriptions of the Roman time found in Apollonia, Amantia and Phoinike. According to these inscriptions Apollonia and Amantia continue all along the Imperial period to preserve the administrative organization of the time when they were polises, independent city-states.

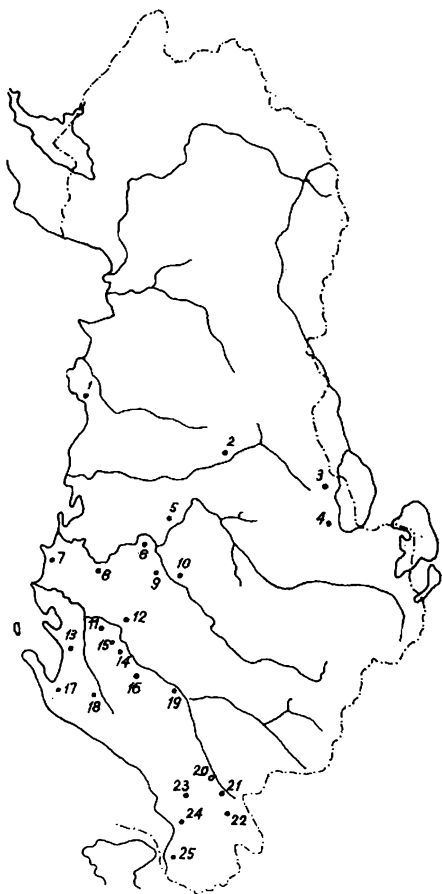
The Latin language, as the language of inscriptions, continued to be used in the territory of Albania until the 4th century, after which, and especially from the 6th century on, they appear in Greek. The geographical extension of the Greek inscriptions is greater and includes the former Roman colonies of Dyrrachium, Byllis and Buthroton. Its northernmost point is Dyrrachium with its neighbourhood, Apollonia, Fier and some other localities delimitating the beginning of a large region in which Greek inscriptions predominate. This zone includes, apart from known cities such as Amantia, Phoinike and Buthroton, the sea harbours of Aulon, Orichum and Onchezmoi, as well as some localities situated along the valleys of the Vjosa and Drin rivers. A zone apart is that of the Dassaretes which we mentioned above. No inscriptional documents have been found at all in the hinterland of Northeastern Albania, in Mat and in Mirdita. It must be added that along with the objects of Roman culture in these regions of Southern Illyria there are also Latin toponyms. Many place names in Latin have survived until today. These ancient toponyms, like the borrowings from the Latin language of the Imperial time which are preserved in Albanian, must be considered as evidence in support of the archaeological discoveries that throw light on the Illyrian-Albanian continuity and the autochthony of the Albanians.

In view of the distribution of inscriptions, we conclude that the thesis of «the extinction of the Illyrian



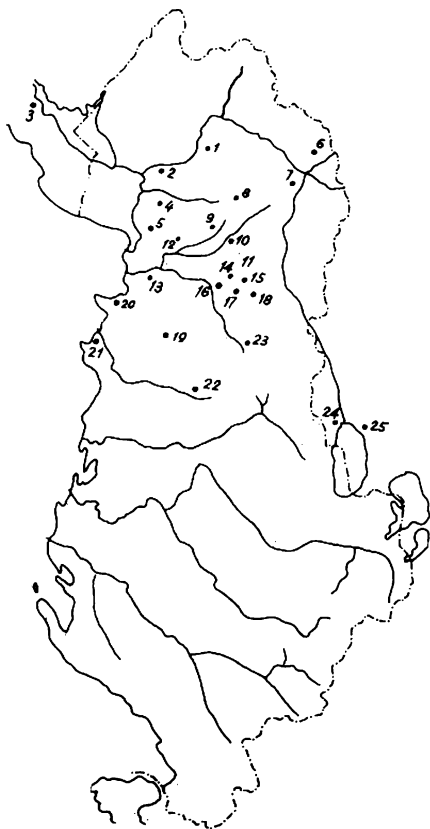
Localities where inscriptions in Latin have been discovered:

- 1 Margegaj, 2 Marshenj, 3 Kalldrun, 4 Koplik, 5 Drisht, 6 Scodra,
- 7 Renc, 8 Vau Dejës, 9 Kolesjan, 10 Vig, 11 Lissus, 12 Valijas,
- 13 Kashar, 14 Paskuqan, 15 Allgjat, 16 Salmanaj, 17 Dyrrhachium,
- 18 Arapaj, 19 Pjeshkëz, 20 Seferaj, 21 Kavaja, 22 Sulzotaj, 23
- Bishqem, 24 Shjon, 25 Scampin, 26 Mbrostar, 27 Apollonia,
- 28 Levan, 29 Byllis, 30 Klos, 31 Karbunara, 32 Kropisht, 33
- Amanthia, 34 Kalivac, 35 Gramata, 36 Gorica, 37 Bouthroton,
- 38 Sofratika



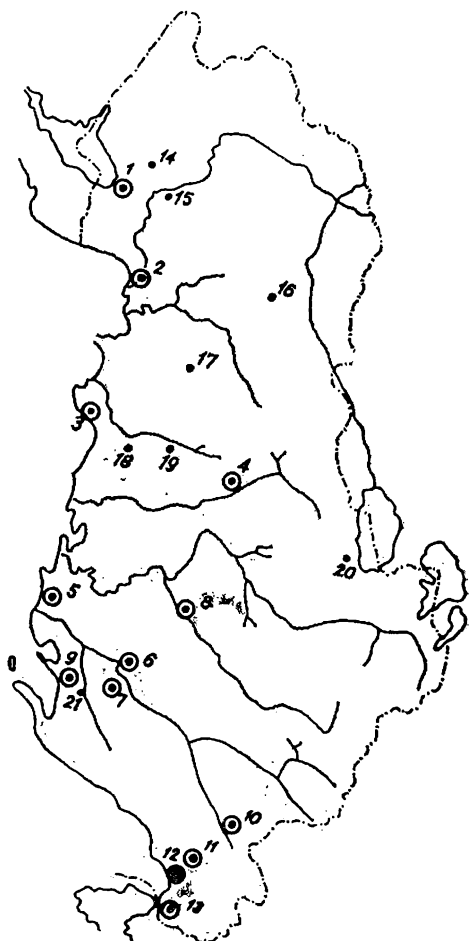
Localities where inscriptions in Greek have been discovered
(during the late Roman Empire).

1 Dyrrhachium, 2 Scampin, 3 Uraka, 4 Memelisht, 5 Kadipashaj, 6 Struma, 7 Apollonia, 8 Fier, 9 Dimallum, 10 Antipatrea, 11 Byllis, 12 Kropisht, 13 Aulon, 14 Amanthia, 15 Shkoza, 16 Matohasanaj, 17 Orichum, 18 Gjorm, 19 Zharrës, 20 Dhuvjan, 21 Sofratika, 22 Muzina, 23 Phoinike, 24 Onchesmoi, 25 Bouthrotum.



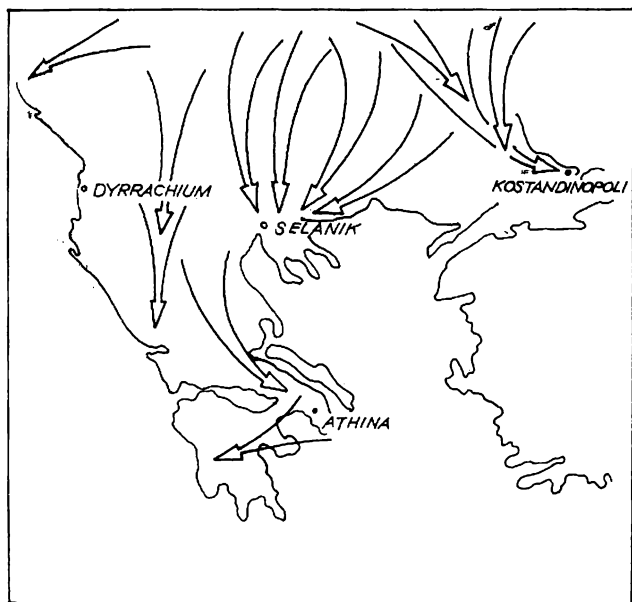
Localities where materials of the Koman culture have been discovered:

1 Koman, 2 Shurdhak, 3 Mjele. 4 Vig, 5 Blinisht, 6 Golaj, 7 Çinamak, 8 Kaçinar, 9 Bukëmira, 10 Bukël, 11 Malaj, 12 Lezha, 13 Milot, 14 Perlat, 15 Dukagjin, 16 Remull, 17 Derjan, 18 Urxalla, 19 Kruja, 20 Kepi i Rodonit, 21 Shinavlash, 22 Shtish Tufina, 23 Klos, 24 Radolisht, 25 Orovnik, 26 Aphion.



Cities mentioned in Herocle's Synecdemos;
early mediaeval castles:

1 Scodra, 2 Lissos, 3 Dyrrachion, 4 Scampa, 5 Apollonia, 6 Byllis, 7 Amanthia, 8 Pulcheriopolis, 9 Aulon, 10 Adrianoupolis, 11 Phoinike; 12 Onchesmoi, 13 Bouthroton, 14 Drisht, 15 Shurdhak, 16 Stelush, 17 Kruja, 18 Petrela, 19 Ndroq, 20 Pogradec, 21 Kanina.



Byzantium and the Slavs at the end of the 6th century and the outset of the 7th century. Direction of incursions.

language» is not convincing. On this point let us refer to the opinion, which has gained much circulation recently, that the spread of Latin and Greek inscriptions cannot be considered as the «linguistic or ethnic margins, but as a line dividing two cultures, namely, the Greek and the Roman cultures, a line which indicates the limit of their mutual influence, while the underlying ancient autochthonous languages, such as the Thracian, Illyrian, Celtic, Venetian, and other languages, continued to be predominate».⁵

In order to judge on the degree of the Romanization of the Illyrian population, the archaeological arguments derived from the necropolises of the Roman time and especially the spread of the rite of incineration are accepted as more reliable.⁶ This burial rite was used mainly in the Roman time in Dyrrachium and Bouthroton of Southern Illyria. In the coastal zones and in the interior of the country the body is laid directly in a box-like grave or in one built with slabs in the form of a hipped roof, both of which were used in the necropolises of the time before Roman invasion. Some ancient tumuli of Northern and Southern Albania were used in the Roman time as burial places. There is no difference between them either in form or burial rite. Only the inventory of the grave varies. Hence, here, too, the influence is not felt.

The developments in the field of cults, sculpture, and clothing of the Southern Illyrians are of interest to the question of the degree of their Romanization. The Yugoslav archaeologists D. Rendić-Miločević, Mate Suić and others have shown «through a number of examples and manifestations that the Illyrians were not liquidated

5 H. Mihaescu, op. cit., pp. 498-499, in which he quotes B. Gerov, B. Rubiniu and V. as authors who support this idea.

6 M. Parović-Pešikan, *Pitanje periodizacije antičke arheologije u našoj zemlji*, in Materijali IV-VII Kongress arheologa Jugoslavije, Hercegnovi 1966 — Beograd 1967, p. 149.

under Roman occupation, that they were not completely Romanized, nor did they lose their cultural and ethnic features, that many of their characteristic elements were preserved even under Roman occupation and afterwards, until the Slavs came.»⁷

As is known the Romans worked to weaken the traditions of ancient cults in the occupied territories unifying the deities of the local epic tradition with those of their pantheon, and even gave them their typical Roman dress. In Southern Illyria the Romans found ancient cults and a slave-owning system. Thus, the main deity of the Parthinians, which was identified with Jupiter, was called *Jupiter Parthinus* in inscriptions, whereas another local deity, the cult of which was wide-spread, and which was likened to Diana, was called *Diana Candavensis*. The ancient cult of nymphs (with its centre certainly in Nymphaion of the Bylions) continued to be preserved even in the last centuries of the Roman Empire in sculptures accompanied with the image of Pan with goat's legs and syrinx, as those which have been found in the reliefs of Dyrrachium, Amantia, Scampin and Pogradec. Another old local deity, which as far as we know was worshiped only in Southern Illyria, and which appears in traditional iconography, was the god of fertility, the cult of which was widespread especially in the region of Apollonia. Speaking of cults, it is worth mentioning another phenomenon, which is proof against the spread of the deities of the Roman occupiers, namely, the very limited number of monuments connected with Oriental deities in the territory of Albania. Whereas in the other Roman provinces Oriental deities are numerous, in the southern regions there are only some occasional iconographic testimonies or inscriptions related mainly to

7 S. Batović-O. Oštric, *Tragovi ilirske kulturne baštine u narodnoj kulturi našeg primarskog područja*, Simpozijum predslavenki etnički elementi na Balkanu u etnogenezi južnih slovena, Sarajevo 1969, pp. 247-248.

Mitra and Meni, and these are to be found only in coastal cities, with a mixed population of Italic stock or of oriental origin, or at most, in some locality close to the main lines of communication.

The resistance of the Illyrian population to Romanization is reflected in funeral monuments, with two distinguishing elements: first, the Illyrian dress, especially those of women, and second, the preservation of traditions of Hellenic art combined with a local style, which appears in the shape of the monuments, the representation of figures and the technique of engraving. In the hinterland ancient forms have been preserved in pottery, too. Some excavators who have worked in the Illyrian settlements of Northern Albania observed that the local pottery with ancient traits and decorations had been in use down to the 4th century. In the pottery of the Illyrian settlement of Gajtan ornaments «are never dissociated from the decorative aspects of the Illyrian pottery of all periods».⁸

This is, in general outline, the situation regarding the «Romanization» of Southern Illyrians. The above-mentioned facts are sufficient to reject «Romanization» and to affirm that the Illyrians preserved many elements of their material and spiritual culture and a very stable ethnic element during the Roman occupation. The famous historian Theodor Mommsen has written: «In these circumstances (reference here is to the contradiction between the senatorial regime and the imperial regime in the provinces — S. A.) the Illyrian nation was in a position to withstand Romanization better in the regions of the Macedonian province than in that of Dalmatia; there lives the (Illyrian) nationality, which from the imperial times to our days must have spoken the Illyrian language, along with the languages of the Empire in the hinter-

⁸ B. Rebani, *The Illyrian Pottery of the Settlement of Gajtan*, in «Historical Studies», no. 1, 1966, p. 63.

land, with the exception of Apollonia which is Greek and the Italic colony of Dyrrachium».⁹

3. After the division of the Roman Empire at the end of the 5th century, the Southern Illyrians remained as part of the Eastern or Byzantine Empire. This division brought no change to the socio-economic structure of the provinces, which continued in the old way. The Illyrians lived in their own territories, with the only change that now they were at the extremity of the Empire, which had its positive and negative aspects.

In the late period of Antiquity, 5-6th centuries, the problem of Romanization of the Illyrians is no longer posed, but the ethnic-cultural aspect of the Illyrians during that period must be clarified.

Written sources about the Illyrians in the first two centuries of the Byzantine Empire are very scarce, mainly limited to the description of the situation of the peasant population and the internal turmoil. The important events of the period consist of the incursions of the Visigoths in the end of the 4th century and Theodoric's invasion (year 479)¹⁰ of Scampin and Dyrrachium. Later reconstructions of the castles of both towns revealed that their fortifications had been damaged during the Goth invasion. At that time, it appears that the need was felt to make additional fortifications of other castles, which since then had been abandoned. Nevertheless, the two successive Goth incursions left nothing behind them, except ruins.

The situation appears slightly different in archaeological discoveries, but still finds for this period are scarce. In the present territory of Albania, including the provinces of Prevalitana, New Epirus and Old Epirus, these discoveries not only show that life was not inter-

9 Th. Mommsen, *Das Weltreich der Caesaren*, Wien-Leipzig 1933, pp. 190-191.

10 *Historici graeci minores, Malchi fragmenta — Byzantiaca* 18, p. 413, ed. Teubner, Leipzig 1870.

rupted in Late Antiquity but also there is cultural and ethnic continuity, which is observed in the other provinces inhabited by Illyrians. Of course, cultural continuity must be seen in connection with the unequal development of the different Illyrian provinces at that time. A phenomenon which attracts attention is that along with the abandonment of many late Roman forms of material culture of the time, some objects of everyday use remain important components of the creations of Early Middle Ages.

Such proofs come from recent excavations of an Illyrian tomb situated in the middle course of the Mat River (Northern Albania). The pottery which has been found there is in widespread use in the Early Mediaeval tumuli of Northern and Central Albania and in the settlements of that time; such objects are also discovered in the Castle of Pogradec (Southeastern Albania).¹¹ From the viewpoint of forms, ornaments and technique, the pottery of the Early Middle Ages is connected with the provincial Roman pottery and the Pre-Roman one, which is clear from the finds in the tumular grave of Çinamak (Northeastern Albania). In this burial place which is dated as of Early Middle Ages and which belongs to a region of slow development, Bep Jubani, who has done the investigation, observed that the ancient Illyrian ceremony of breaking the vessels over the grave was preserved in the 4th-5th centuries and that their fragments were similar to those found in some contemporary settlements discovered in the upper Drin Valley.¹² This ceremony is met in some ancient burial grounds of Apollonia, in burial grounds of the Roman time in the outskirts of the city of Tirana and in the Early Mediaeval

11 D. Kurti, *Report on the Result of Excavations of 'Suka e Lepurit' Tomb of Burrel*, in «Bulletin of Archaeology», Tirana 1971, pp. 67-72.

12 B. Jubani, *The Tumular Grave of Çinamak — 1970/1971*, in the «Bulletin of Archaeology», Tirana 1971, pp. 41-52.

tumular grave of Kruja. In some regions it continued even in later periods. The explanation to this continuity can be found only in the autochthonous character of the population which inhabited these regions uninterruptedly and was skilled in the production of such pottery.

From the finds of the small burial ground of Mali i Robit in the vicinity of the city of Durrës, it emerges that some work tools and fibulae of the 4th century prevail, with small alterations, down to Early Middle Ages. These consist mainly of axes, scythes and knives (the later are to be found in Pre-Roman settlements, too) and two types of fibulae. The cross-type fibula crops up occasionally up till the 6th century, while the coiled fibula, found in only one example, developed further until it became the characteristic ornament of the «Koman culture». Recently this type of fibula was found in the cultural stratum of Late Antiquity — Early Middle Ages in the Castle of Pogradec, thus pushing the frontiers of the spread of coiled fibula further South.¹³

These archaeological data of Late Antiquity are proofs of the autonomous development of some objects, comprising pottery, work tools and ornaments, which continue in use in the Early Middle Ages and which have their source also in the material culture of the provincial Roman time.

Archaeological investigation in the South Illyrian provinces of the Byzantine Empire have brought to light, besides the continuity of the cultural life of the region, also the phenomenon of the economic crisis and its consequences, the general impoverishment of the local population in the 4th-5th centuries, which is responsible for the extinction of life in some Illyrian towns that, notwithstanding this, had given signs of their decline since the earliest period of the Roman Empire. The last example is seen in the ruins of the Illyrian town of Zgërdhesh, Fushë-Kruja. Here I quote the author of

13 S. Anamali, *Results of Excavations in the Castle of Pogradec*, in the «Bulletin of Archaeology», Tirana 1969, pp. 89-101.

excavations in that town, who says: «During this time (the period of Roman occupation — S.A.) the town in general seems to have lost its former importance. We see nothing in the way of important buildings or signs of active economic life. The finds in the necropolis at the foot of the encircling wall, close by the No. 2 tower and at the gate beside it (excavation B), reveal that in the 4th century the encircling walls had lost some of their former importance and functions and that the town had begun to be abandoned, while its inhabitants are supposed to have moved to another centre».¹⁴

Written and archaeological sources for the 6th century, especially of the time of the rule of Justinian, which was marked by the revival of ancient traditions, provide another aspect of the South Illyrian territory. Archaeological sources are silent about such activities as founding of new inhabited centres during this time, or even in the time of the Roman Empire, in Southern Illyria. The only activities of that time are connected with military and religious buildings. The former are the «castra» type castles of Scampin, Vig (in the zone of Mirdita, Northern Albania), Palaeocastra (on the Drino Valley, not far from the city of Gjirokastra) or some other castle the building of which began in the end of the 4th century, as well as the list of castles built or rebuilt under Justinian, most of which Procop of Caesarea does not identify. Relying on this authority, we might add the conclusion about the very much limited number of Latin names of castles, the only example being found during the reconstruction of the city of Hadrianopolis of the Old Epirus province, by Justinian, which was called Justinianopolis later.¹⁵

Hadrianopolis, alias Justinianopolis, originally a Caon city on the vally of Drino River (mentioned in Tabula

14 S. Islami, *The Illyrian Town of Zgërdhesh*, in «Monuments», no. 1, 1971, p. 33.

15 Procopii Caesariensis, *De Aedificis*, Book IV 1, p. 36, ed. Teubner, Leipzig, 1905, 1906, 1913.

Peutingeriara and which can be located in the ruins of the Hill of Melan Tekke near Gjirokastra), is the only ancient city of our country which was named after an emperor.

Among the buildings of Late Antiquity, especially under Justinian, some Palaeochristian monuments must be mentioned. The basilicas and baptistries of that period speak of a high skill in mosaic-making in Southern Illyria under Byzantium. What has arrested the scholars' attention about these monuments, such as the basilica of Elbasan Tepe, the basilica of Lin on the Ohri Lake shore, the baptistry of Butrint, the mosaic of Saranda and the basilica recently discovered in the city of Tirana, is the strong connection with the traditions of Antiquity, which is especially striking in mosaics.

4. If many scholars have accepted, on the basis of archaeological material, a continuity of cultural and ethnic life in the Illyrian territories until Late Antiquity, and have rightly rejected the idea of the «Romanization» of the Illyrians during the Roman occupation, the question of the survival of the Illyrians for the period after the 6th century is treated in a different light. This is explained with the fact that the Illyrians are mentioned for the last time in the religious history of Euagros in connection with the war of Byzantium against the Avars in 584 and with the consequences following upon the invasions of Avars and Slavs and the settlement of the latter in the Balkan Peninsula. On the basis of these opinions theses and theories emerged which now regard the Albanians.

Without disregarding the changes that were made in the ethnic map of the Balkans after the Slav settlement, we must point out that their invasions and incursions were not of the same intensity in all the regions of the Balkans. To this must be added the generally accepted idea that among the East Thracian regions, those which were completely invaded, even when invasions began from the city of Sirm on the Danube, were the valleys of Morava and Vardar Rivers, which the Avars and

Slavs used for their passage towards Thessalonica and further on, towards Constantinople. The Western regions were more or less on the margins of the great Avar-Slav flow, or even if they were involved, the invasions had a transient character and consisted of small groups.

Written sources are to be found in Procop of Caesarea, who has recorded information about an incursion of the Slavs in Illyricum which reached Epidamnus-Dyrrachium, and an information of Euagros about the presence of Avars in the outskirts of Durrachium, as well as in allusions made in some later chronicles. From the epistles of Pope Gregory the Great about the invasion and ruination of the cities of Rizan (Montenegro — Yugoslavia) and Lezha (Northern Albania) in the years 591-592 by the «barbarians», we learn of the return of Slav groups from the siege of Thessalonica in 578, which invaded the region of Shkodra.¹⁶ The 9th century chroniclers of the Greek town of Monemvasia say that the Avars (whom the Slavs had joined), during their incursions of the year 578, had invaded Greece, Thessaly and Old Epirus.¹⁷ According to the anonymous writers of the second book of *Miracula sancti Demetrii*, Epirus together with Greece and Thessaly became a region which was raided by the Slavs in the year 614-616. In the above-mentioned book it is said that the population that fled from Pannonia, Dacia and Dardania and from the cities of Naissus and Sardika, which the barbarians had destroyed, found refuge in Thessalonica, at that time under siege of the Avars and Slavs. But there is no mention of refugees from the Western provinces.¹⁸ The names of the Slav

16 Gregori Magni, *Epistolae*, I 132, MGH.

17 P. Lemerle, *La chronique improprement dite de Monemvasie: le contexte historique et légendaire*, *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 21 (1963).

18 F. Barišić, *Proces slovenske kolonizacije istocnog Balkana*, at the Simpozijum Predslavenski etnički elementi na Balkanu u etnogenezi južnih slovena, Sarajevo 1969, p. 24.

tribes that settled in the Western provinces at that time do not appear in the Byzantine sources that list the names of a number of Slav tribes which settled in Thracia, Macedonia, and other Eastern provinces. The same thing occurred later again with the Bulgarian invasions of the years 851-1018, which spread in Southern Albania up to Durrës, and again with the extension of the state of Zeta north of the region of Shkodra (in 1040). In our opinion these invasions are connected with most of the Slav place-names, the importance of which has been exaggerated, because, in fact, they do not live beyond the duration of the invasions: this is supported by archaeological finds in some small burial places of the 10th-11th centuries in Southern Albania. It is not our intention to examine them here.

The information from Byzantine sources, which we recognize to be fragmentary, often of unclear content, treated in a general spirit and with contradictions, indefinite or even contradictory in chronology,¹⁹ are hypothetical and, consequently cannot serve as a basis for the opinion of historians that the Illyrians disappeared as an ethnos in the beginning of the Middle Ages, or that small groups of Illyrians managed to escape by taking refuge in remote mountain parts, and that their whole territories were overrun by the Slavs, and that the Albanians, as the descendants of these Illyrian groups which escaped extermination, came to settle the territories in which they live today at a relatively later historical period. Two facts should be taken into account on this point: first, if the Illyrians cease to be mentioned in their former extensive territories, this occurred for the reason that during the later period of the Empire they were part of the lower strata. Apart from this even for this territory the scholars apply the same arguments as for the Northern Illyria, in which «Romanization» and «Slavization» later operated in quite different circumstances.

19 F. Barišić, *Ibidem*, p. 12.

Archaeological sources which first provided support for the continuity of the population and the cultural-ethnic continuity of the Illyrians in the Early Middle Ages are connected with the «Koman culture». The first finds made in the beginning of our century in the great burial place of the Castle of Dalmace, in the Koman Village of Puka (Northern Albania), from which the name of the culture is derived, aroused much debate about the carriers of the culture discovered in the burial grounds and the time of its flowering. The discovery of a number of burial places, big and small (about 22), the rich inventory of the tombs, the variety of archaeological objects, have enabled the scholars to make a thorough study of the fundamental issues of the «Koman culture». We think that the arguments brought about the unity and autochthonous character of this culture, its connections with ancient Illyrian culture, the influence of the Roman provincial culture and the Byzantine culture later, about the time of the flourishing of our culture, are adequate in themselves, and have given satisfactory solution to most of the debatable questions. In the case of the Koman culture we have to do with a local culture of ancient traditions, which speaks of a cultural continuity and a continuity of habitat and ethnos.²⁰ Since the Koman culture developed in an extensive territory, which the Byzantine chroniclers of the 11th century call Arbanon-Arbër, we recognize it as the culture of the early Arbëreshi or Albanians. The discovery of some burial grounds or objects of early Albanian culture outside the present territory of Albania has extended the bounds of the spread of this culture. Apart from the small burial place of Aphyon, discovered in the Corfu Island, which is the southernmost point, there is the burial place of Mjela, on the shores of the Shkodra Lake (Vir Pazar, Monte-

20 S. Anamali, *The Problem of Early Albanian Mediaeval Culture in the Light of New Archaeological Discoveries*, in «Historical Studies», no. 2 1967, pp. 29-40.

negro, Yugoslavia) and southeast, the burial places of the villages Orovnik and Radonisht in the vicinity of the Ohër Lake (Macedonia — Yugoslavia), where objects which speak in favour of the extension of our culture even to this region, have been found.²¹

What attracts our attention in all the places where tombs and burial grounds have yielded material similar to that of the Koman burial place, and on which we will concentrate, is the spread of the Koman culture not only in the mountain zones of Northern and Central Albania, but also in the coastal plains. This extension from the northernmost to southernmost burial places enables us to think of a culture with a distinct regional character. The fact that we have an early Albanian culture which developed not only in an isolated mountain region, refutes the proposition of G.Stadt Müller according to which «the ancestors of the present Albanian people are supposed to have had the centre of their habitat, during the early Roman-Byzantine period, only in the province of Mat.»²² A fact that refuses to be left in oblivion, and which supports our opinion, is the location of large burial places close to the castles of Kruja, Lezha, Shurdhah, which became important Albanian civil centres during the Middle Ages.

Another aspect of the Koman culture is that it is free from any conservative trait. In pointing out the continuity of the ancient Illyrian culture into the culture of Early Middle Ages, we have stressed that this has nothing to do with the preservation of a static, unchanged culture, or with Illyrian conservatism, as the main factor of this continuity. If we accepted such a stability of culture we would deny the socio-economic development of the Illyrians and the early Albanians over a millenary.

21 S. Anamali, *On the Early Albanian Culture*, in «Illyrians and the Genesis of the Albanians», Tirana 1969, p. 187, footnote 4.

22 G. Stadtmüller, *Forschungen zur albanischen Frühgeschichte*, Wiesbaden 1966, p. 118.

We have already shown that the early Albanian material culture, which is the continuation of the Illyrian culture, has objects pertaining originally to the fund of the Roman culture or influenced by early Byzantine culture, and which have become an important component of it. Some of them have been subjected to a variety of creative changes and have assumed new special features. This new development in the art of metal work, especially in silversmithery, was connected with the popular costumes and their ornaments, in which the ancient tradition has remained very strong. Elements of Roman-Byzantine culture or their influences do not weaken the local character of the early Albanian culture, on the contrary they show that this culture developed in close contact with them, that its bearers are the descendants of the ancient autochthonous Illyrian population, which had close contacts with the Roman and Byzantine culture.

Information of the Roman culture about the relations of the early Albanians with Byzantium in the 7th-8th centuries presents great interest. The presence of some ornaments of early Byzantine culture speaks of the influence of the latter, which in our opinion, radiated from Dyrrachium, the biggest seaport of the Byzantine Empire in the West. However, this influence, has not been uniform everywhere. A clear example of this is seen in the burial grounds of Kruja, in which Byzantine cultural elements are relatively numerous, against other cases of burial grounds in the interior of the country, in which such elements appear much more inferior in numbers. As regards connections with Byzantium, there is another significant fact, namely, the revival of local production especially in the 7th-8th centuries, which had not occurred either in the period of the Roman Empire or in Late Antiquity.²³ Traces of such revival are found

23 S. Anamali, *Les nouvelles découvertes archéologiques, sur les rapports des albanais avec Byzance dans le haut Moyen Age*, «Studia Albanica», no. 1, 1972, p. 140.

in early Mediaeval settlements on which we have been working recently. Along with the revival of some ancient forms of ornaments and pottery there was a development of new forms. The revival of local handicrafts is certainly an indication of a change in the economic situation, in which mining, metalwork and trades passed on to the hands of the local population again, which now is freed from the pressure of the Empire and can develop their pursuits freely. It is also an indication of the new political situation, which enabled the Albanians inhabiting their territories to give Byzantium only a formal recognition, until the end of the 6th century, when Durrës was raised to the status of a theme. This population, according to K. Frashëri's postulations, was outside the direct control of the Byzantine authorities.

These conclusions prove our point about the Illyrian-Albanian continuity and the deep roots of the early Albanian culture, which goes back to the Illyrians, the ancient inhabitants of our country. In making this affirmation today we rely not only on the finds of early Mediaeval burial grounds of Northern and Central Albania, but also on new discoveries in fortified settlements, thus gradually including the entire territory of present-day Albania. All excavations bring to light archaeological material which belongs to the common fund of the Illyrian and ancient material culture, or is connected with it. This material appears uniform for the whole territory inhabited by the Illyrians and their descendants. It is proper to repeat the idea we have already expressed, that if some elements of the «Koman culture», especially metal ornaments are found only in one region, this peculiarity should be placed in relationship with the ancient Illyrian cultural groups, in the concrete case with the Illyrian cultural group of Mat, which inhabited a region rich in mineral sources.

5. Another important question which bears on our problem is that of the continuity of town life, which served as a cog-wheel that conveyed the material and spiritual civilization of Antiquity to the Early Middle

Ages. The problem here is not only to know the Illyrian towns which lived on in the Middle Ages, but also to learn whether the territory inhabited by the Albanians in Early Middle Ages was completely ruralized or urban life in them continued. Various opinions, often contradictory ones, have been expressed on this matter. The historian Milan Sufflay, in his study of the Mediaeval Albanian cities and castles from written sources, has recognized the period after the 5th century as the period of the «selection» of ancient cities and the creation of new urban nuclei, as a result of the struggle of the local population for self-defence.²⁴ Whereas, in the opinion of the German historian, G. Stadtmüller, during the Early Middle Ages the Albanian territories had a Greek and Roman element, a Slav peasant element and only a pastoral Albanian element.²⁵

What does archaeology say on this question? It must be said that from the time these opinions were formulated many things have been cleared and no small contribution in this has been made by archaeological discoveries, the results of which will be listed below.

Synecdemus of Hierocles is the last Byzantine source about the provincial towns of the Empire in the 6th century. In the three provinces comprised in the present-day territory of Albania the author numbers 20 towns,²⁶ lying mainly in the coastal plains and close to the main routes, which is explained with the fact that the survival of towns in the coastal plains is connected with the favourable geographical position and the economic and military importance which many of them had had since the time of the Roman domination. Failure of *Synecdemus* to mention any town in the interior is explained

24 M. V. Šufflay, *Städte und Bürgen Albaniens hauptsächlich während des Mittelalters*, Wien und Leipzig 1924, p. 16.

25 G. Stadtmüller, *Forschungen zur albanischen Frühgeschichte*, in *Archivum Europae centro-orientalis*, vol. VII, fasc. 1-2.

26 Hieroclis, *Synecdemus*, p. 651, 652, 653, ed. Teubner, Leipzig, 1893.

with the fact that the work of Hierocles was intended as a guide for the official employees of the Empire, therefore it did not include the less developed centres in the hinterland.

The situation, as Hierocles described it, remained unchanged in general, up till the Early Middle Ages. Life in the cities of Scodra, Lissus, Dyrrachium, Aulon, Canina, Chimera, Borsh, Onchezmoi and Buthrot continued well into the Middle Ages. The local population that lived in these cities preserved their ancient names. According to linguists, these names are preserved «in a manner which is characteristic of the phonetical rules of Albanian and its historical development, thus proving the uninterrupted linguistic continuity of the cities». These facts are proof against opinions that the cities were abandoned and the local population returned to pastoral or peasant life. Archaeological excavations in some of them, especially those that have been carried out in a more regular manner, such as in Lezha, Durrës, Kanina and Buthrot, reveal the process of their transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages as well as their intensive life in different periods. The specific thing about the cities of the Illyrian coast that survived in the Middle Ages is that later reconstructions there were done mainly on ancient foundations.

Town life continued even in the interior of the country, in places such as the Castle of Pogradec, at which excavations have been led by the author of this paper, with a variety of finds. This is not the place to examine this type of Illyrian settlement, but we will point out that the Roman cultural stratum is very poor and that, beginning from the 6th century, this centre experiences a great revival and has a rich and intensive life.²⁷ Many of the finds are similar to the objects discov-

27 S. Anamali, *Results of Excavations in the Castle of Pogradec, 1970-1971*, in «Bulletin of Archaeology», Tirana 1971, pp. 120-128.

ered in the burial grounds of the Early Middle Ages in Northern and Central Albania. This fact together with the presence of local pottery in the Castle of Pogradec, which is found in many inhabited centres of that time, should be evaluated in the same light. Here we want to draw attention to two facts: first, the pottery appears in ancient forms and features, second, this may be of help in dating the pottery found in our Mediaeval castles in definite stratigraphic circumstances.

Another point that speaks in favour of the continuity of town life in our country is the emergence of new towns in the Early Middle Ages, mainly castles built close to ancient cities in the regions with a tradition of town life and in places offering better protection. The Castle of Shurdhah, in which H. Spahiu and D. Komata have carried out excavations over many years, is material proof which speaks in favour of this phenomenon. It must be accepted that the Castle of Shurdhah, alias Sarda of later archive documents, was founded in the Early Middle Ages. Arguments in support of this should be sought in the archaeological material discovered in a burial place close to the castle, which belongs to the group of Koman Culture, in objects of this culture brought to light in the excavations carried out inside the town, in the pottery which is identical with that of the Early Mediaeval centres, in the walls of the castle and the preservation of some traditional elements of fortification (H. Spahiu — D. Komata, «The Mediaeval town of Sarda» (present-day Shurdhah), manuscript in the archives of the sector of archaeology). The Castle of Shurdhah is not the only castle built in the 6th-8th centuries by the inhabitants of an ancient centre, in the concrete case Gajtan-Sardos (?). Archaeological information raises some hint about other possible migrations, such as those from the Illyrian town of Zgërdhesh (Albanopolis?) to Kruja, from Byllis to Ballsh, etc., which however, must be supported by archaeological investigations and material.

The recent expeditions for drawing the archaeological map of Albania have discovered a series of big and small

castles, which, judging by the technique of building and the archaeological material, are included in the group of early Albanian castles. Some of them have been built on the sites of ancient Illyrian centres. Now, however, because of their economic conditions and the demographic situation they are smaller, like many Mediaeval castles of the Balkans. Castle studies, which have just begun, are of special interest for the problem of the early Albanian castles, because in their system of fortification, weak as it is, we see the presence of ancient building traditions, and in the occasional finds, especially pottery, we see features which remind us of known contemporary cities.

When we speak of the continuity of town life from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages we must take into account the historical circumstances and the socio-economic conditions with which it is connected. With this we have in mind not only the situation of the Byzantine Empire in general, but also the new relationships which were created in the territory inhabited by the Albanians. In the geographic-ethnic units, in which the peasant communities were more or less disintegrated because of the establishment of feudal relations — a process by no means painless and in which the central administration was powerless, many ancient towns, which had survived until the 6th century, lost their economic, administrative, military and spiritual importance. In face of this situation, the inhabitants of these units and the feudal gentry in the making, needed new centres to respond to the requirements of the times. The coastal towns, some of which had degenerated to the rank of castles, preserved their former importance as civil centres even in the Middle Ages.

6. To conclude about this subject, we find it necessary to dwell on a much debated question, the autochthony of the Albanians, and to examine it in the light of the above-mentioned arguments. Outside the sphere of archaeology and in favour of the autochthonous character of the Albanians there are also linguistic argu-

ments proposed by our linguists, amongst which those by E. Çabej, but the aim of this paper is different.

The thesis of the autochthony of the Albanians is directly connected with their Illyrian origin and is based on sound geographic and historical arguments. The Albanians live in a territory which was peopled by the Illyrians in the ancient times. Today we possess sufficient proofs of the Illyrian descentance of the Albanians, which, from the archaeological angle, lead to the Early Middle Ages when the Illyrians emerge in history with their new name of Arbërs or Arbëreshi. These archaeological factors strengthen the argument J. Thunmann brought forward in the 18th century, according to which in the history of the Albanians there is no trace of migration, and this is not unfounded because the chroniclers record almost everything about the small-scale invasions of the «barbarians» in the Balkans. Very positive and not in the least accidental is the argument that the region of Arbanon of the 11th century of our era is directly related to the territories inhabited by the Illyrian Albans nine centuries before.

Is this in conformity with the archaeological data? The answer for this we have given in the examination of the main questions connected with the problem of the Illyrian-Albanian continuity. Archaeological data enable us to outline the territories inhabited by the ancestors of the Albanians during the Roman period and the early Byzantine period. This territory is Southern Illyria, including Dardania, hence a territory in which the Albanians live today. This has been proved by toponomastic informations, which confirm the Albanian people in the territories in which they live today. This has been the living space in which the Albanian people was formed, and not a «relict» region, as the region of Mat has been proposed. The conclusion of the thesis which proposes that the Albanians have migrated to the present territories is unfounded. This is quite clear and well proved. The opinion that the Albanians are the descendants of

the Thracian Besses, who had not been Romanized up till the 6th century, that the territory of the formation of the Albanian people should be sought in the area Nish-Sophia-Shkup in the period between 600-900, and the other theories which propose that the Albanians have come to their present territories from the depth of the Balkans where they lived in proximity with the Rumanians,²⁸ are devoid of support. Even less acceptable is the idea about the common Slav-Illyrian genesis of the Albanians in the territory inhabited by them, or about the occupation of the territory of Albania by the Slavs and the «Albanianization» of the Slavs by Albanian highland tribes migrating after the 12th century, as the Bulgarian historian V. Tepkova Zaimova claims.

In this paper we have tried to work out and define the process of the formation of the Albanian people. Archaeological materials lead us to the ancient population living in the territory of the Albanians, i.e. the Illyrians, and show that this population survived both during the Roman occupation and during the period of the great invasions of peoples in the Balkans. These materials are sometimes very significant, sometimes less so, but we have the confidence that archaeological excavations, which have been greatly extended in the last decade, will bring to light new material and will enlarge our possibilities for a more profound and extensive treatment of the problem of the Illyrian-Albanian continuity. «Many peoples, big and small», says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «have disappeared in the course of centuries, have been assimilated by other peoples, have completely accepted the culture of big peoples... Such facts are confirmed by history. The existence of the Albanian people, as well as the fact that we are here, have inherited and preserved

28 E. Çabej, *Introduction to the History of the Albanian Language*, Prishtina 1970, pp. 34-35 (reprint), in which the theses of the authors who propose that Albanians have migrated to their lands, and the linguistic material opposing them, are given.

intact our original and very interesting language, art, music and customs, generation after generation in the centuries, proves that we are an ancient and unconquerable people.»²⁹

29 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 17, p. 482, Alb. ed.

**POPULAR CULTURE AS AN EXPRESSION OF
SPECIFIC ETHNIC FEATURES AND THE
FORMATION OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE***

The study of the Albanian popular culture, taken in its broad sense as a material, social and spiritual culture with its distinguishing ethnic and national features, is an important task of our social sciences.

The problem is very broad. The popular culture, with its many different components and aspects, is a product of long and complicated historical processes which extend over whole epochs. Therefore, it is the object of study for a number of different disciplines, such as archaeology, history, ethnography, linguistics, folklore study, anthropology, sociology, etc.

All peoples, big or small, advanced or backward, have created their original culture in conformity with the historical, natural, economic, social and political conditions in which they have lived and developed. The division of the peoples into «cultured» and «natural»

* Taken from the National Conference of Ethnographic Studies (January 28-30, 1976), pp. 37-53.

ones, i.e., into peoples with a capacity to create their culture and peoples without such capacity, as some bourgeois ethnographic schools do, has been rejected by the Marxist ethnography as a racist theory lacking scientific basis and with harmful political consequences, as a theory concocted to justify imperialist aggression and expansion. Bourgeois foreign ethnography has expressed such a view also about us, Albanians, describing our popular culture as primitive, or raising local vestiges of the past to a general level, or completely negating its original character, and seeing in it only elements borrowed from other «cultured» peoples.

The Albanian popular culture is the product of the Albanian people, as an ethnic and national unit. As an historical category, it has been formed on the basis of the ancient Illyrian culture and developed during the Middle Ages, as part of the Albanian nationality under the rule of foreign states, during which it assumed its own distinct common features, consolidating itself to a high degree during the great anti-Ottoman war of the 15th century, and in the process of the further crystallization of its ethnic features, in the process of the formation of the Albanian nation in the 19th-20th century, in the period of the transition from the feudal order to the capitalist order, it was transformed into our national popular culture. The capitalist relations in Albania still had not reached the stage in which they could narrow the specific ethnic character of the popular culture (except for some cosmopolitan manifestations in the town culture which had emerged before). And when the people's revolution triumphed and the socialist order was established new conditions and possibilities were created for the further development of the national individuality of the popular culture and its integration with the new socialist culture.

Our task is to outline, within the possibilities of a report, the main problems of the genesis and features of the Albanian nation and culture in the period of its formation, and to point out some features of the national

popular culture which has reached our century generation after generations.



The problem of the formation of the Albanian popular culture, of the features it assumed, which distinguish it from the culture of other peoples, is the essence of the problem of the genesis of the Albanian nationality, as an individual ethnic unit.

The Albanian social sciences such as history, archaeology, linguistics, ethnography, folklore, based on the materialist word outlook, have dwelt seriously on this complex and complicated problem, and although they still have not given an exhaustive answer to the problem, the results achieved are significant. The Albanian scientists have made a critical analysis of the theories and views put forward by foreign science on this problem, have further developed its positive results, have discovered, collected and published new scientific material and, on the basis of a penetrating analysis of all the information available, reached conclusions and generalizations which are a step forward in the treatment of the problem of the formation of the popular culture of the Albanians.

The socio-economic development of our people during the transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, and from the Middle Ages to the modern time, has brought important changes to the popular culture. The objects and manifestations of popular culture in general have been transformed, or have altogether disappeared and been replaced in the course of the centuries in order to respond to the demands of social developments. The development, however, has taken place in a dialectical manner, with new elements emerging and developing in struggle against the old, negating the latter partly or

entirely. On the other hand, they represent a further development of the progressive values and processes of the previous centuries. Nevertheless, the ethnic traditions acquire, after their emergence, a degree of stability that enables them to survive even after the living conditions of the people have changed. So, no few vestiges of the ancient popular culture have resisted the time and have reached us with partial alterations in forms and functions of pure and unmixed ethnic features.

The study of this long historical process raises, in the first place, the problem of approach. First to be taken into consideration are the means of the science of history which is a discipline that is based on written documents. Historical documents, however, are insufficient to throw light on the problems arising about Antiquity and Early Middle Ages. The results of archaeology and linguistics have opened new paths to see more clearly, but not completely, into them. The gap thus left is partly filled by ethnography, which, proceeding from the richly documented popular culture of more recent times, following a retrospective road of research and utilizing the information from other sciences, enables us to penetrate the mists of centuries and shed some light on the history of the formation of the Albanian popular culture.

With the decline of the world of Antiquity, which came about as a result of the deep socio-economic and political crisis following the great class struggles and the invasions of peoples, Europe and the Balkans entered a new historical epoch, the Middle Ages. The beginnings of this period were accompanied with the overthrow of the slave-owning order and profound changes in the ethnic composition of the populations. Illyria, which since the end of the 4th century of our era was under Byzantium and had resisted Romanization, was deeply affected by these changes. Among the new invasions, the Slav invasions had the most serious consequences in the ethnic plane, because during the 7th-9th centuries the

northern and eastern provinces of Illyria were exposed to Slav influence. The Illyrian autochthonous population which inhabited the southern part of Illyria resisted Slav colonization and preserved its ethnic physiognomy. This was the fundamental historical premise of the genesis of the Albanians, because the Albanian nationality was made of this material and on this territory. The process was favoured by another circumstance of political importance. Under the pressure of barbarian invasions, the Byzantine Empire was compelled, from the end of the 6th century, to withdraw its military garrisons, state administration, institutions and Church from this territory. Byzantine power was restored in these regions in the beginning of the 9th century, however, neither this nor the Bulgarian state, which replaced it in some parts of the territory, succeeded in extending their authority in the regions outside cities and bishoprics. As a result, throughout the whole of this period enveloped in the mists of the Middle Ages, when the slave-owning institutions had been overthrown, when the economic importance of cities had decreased and the bulk of the population had been organized into peasant communities, the ancient organs of local government survived in the country and in the cities after having escaped liquidation under the great pressure of Rome. This situation which continued for centuries, with a predominating natural economy and the canon law operating, created the possibility for the independent development of local traditions and their enrichment with new elements. This period of Early Middle Ages marks the beginnings of the Albanian nationality and its popular culture.

Which are the fundamental ethnic components of the Albanian nationality? These components should be sought in the Illyrian-Albanian continuity, which is expressed in terms of the continuity of territory, language and cultural traditions. Naturally, the Illyrian-Albanian continuity in these three aspects should be seen more than in a mechanical manner. No matter how direct the connections with the Illyrians might have been, this does

not mean that the Albanians should be identified with their ancestors. The Albanian people are the product of a long historical process during which the Illyrian heritage was developed in form and contents on a new socio-economic basis. During this process, the Albanian people acquired new features which made them an individual ethnos, an independent nationality, with original cultural physiognomy different from that of other peoples.

Among the three components of the Illyrian-Albanian continuity, the ethnic territory as an element of the formation of the Albanian nationality has its importance not only to prove the autochthony of the Albanians in the lands where they live today. Seen as the space historically and economically connected with the Albanian people, with its coastal plains and eastern flatlands divided by mountain chains, cut by rapid rivers and gorges, the ethnic territory has influenced, with varying degrees, the unequal economic and social development of the Albanian territories, because it raised difficulties to the establishment of regular connections between different regions, and as a result brought about the dialectal differences and a variegated popular culture.

Accepting the genetic links between the Albanians and Illyrians, we accept, at the same time, the connections of filiation between the Illyrian language and Albanian. But we are ignorant both of the Illyrian language and of the language that the Albanians have spoken in the period of their formation, because historical sources about them are scarce. As is known, the Albanian language has documents datable to the 15th century and the middle of the 16th century with Gjon Buzuku's «Missal». However, it is also known that language is characterized by stability. Although the contents of language undergoes changes in the different stages of social development, language remains essentially the same serving both the old culture and the new one. The cases of analogy between the Albanian language and

Illyrian in onomastics, in individual glosses which are found in the writings of old authors, in given inscriptions, etc., speak of the fact that the language which the early Albanians spoke was the Albanian language in a form more archaic than that in which it appears in the documents of the 15th and 16th centuries. The studies carried out in the field of toponomastics prove that the place names in the territory inhabited by the Albanians are mostly of an ancient origin and that the modern names of Slav, Byzantine, or Turkish origin are later substitutes imposed by centuries of foreign domination. The Albanian nautical terms, which have been ignored by some foreign scholars in order to prove their thesis that the Albanians came from the depths of the Balkans, have been richly documented by the Albanian studies after Liberation.

The third ethnic component in the formation of the Albanian nationality is the material, social and spiritual culture.

The discoveries made by the archaeologists and ethnographers permit us to make an approximative reconstruction of this culture. The early Albanians were an agricultural-pastoral stock. Judging from the work tools of the later centuries and their similarity with the Illyrian ones, we may say that in their agricultural pursuits they used the pick-axe and two-pronged fork, the scythe and the heavy sickle, as well as the plow with iron share, they cultivated wheat, oat, rye, millet, beans, planted vines and olive-groves, etc. The ancient farming culture of the Albanians is reflected in their popular calendar which is different both from the Julian calendar and other later calendars. In their calendar the year was divided into eight equal parts of 45 days each, the beginning and end of them was connected with the beginning and end of farm work of the season and was accompanied with popular festivities. The early Albanians lived in rectangular houses built of logs, clay or stone, without internal divisions and with a hearth in

the middle, round which the patriarchal family gathered. Besides this primitive form, there is the more developed dwelling with divisions, with an internal balcony, or with separate rooms attached round the main building under the same roof or with separate roofs, or with additions built in a strait line. The house was equipped with utensils, work tools made of wood or metal; the seats used in them were three-legged low stools, the low round table was used to take meals from and the beds were fixtures filled with dry grass or with firn in the mountains. Shaggy rugs were made on the primitive handloom and were imitations of hides, in the natural colour of the material.

Clothing material was produced with the means of the domestic economy, mainly simple woollen and flaxen cloth produced by the women. Clothing consisted of the gown, vest, apron, sash, hide shoes, capes and plaids, and in the 13th-17th centuries, the long shirt both for men and women, the «xhoka» (sleeveless vest) and «fustanella» (kilt). By way of warm clothing they used the unshorn sheep skins which were made into «gozhups».

Archacological investigations have revealed that early Albanian material culture exists not only in the isolated mountain zones, but in a very extensive territory including the mountains and the plains and the relatively large cities of the time. The work tools, pottery for everyday use, etc., are identical over the whole Albanian speaking country. To this culture, which is limited mainly to the northern and central zones, belong such ornaments as laces, wrist chains, fibulae, earrings, etc. found in Koman, Kruja, etc. which in their shape, motifs of decoration and, in many cases, in their functions, are directly connected with the Illyrian ornaments that have come down to us in the form of various finds. Typologically and decoratively they are different from the Byzantine objects or those of the other neighbouring peoples. Most of the objects of this culture were produced in local shops, which speaks of an ancient tradi-

tion and a relatively high degree of skill in metalwork in this zone.

In the popular social and spiritual culture of these centuries we find clear traces of the influence of Christian religion combined with those of paganism inherited from earlier epochs. The Palaeochristian churches discovered in our country speak of the extension of the new religion mainly in the zones under foreign rulers. As for the other zones, they preserved their ancient cults, such as the cult of the sun, the ancient deities such as «ora» and «zana», the cult of the serpent etc., as well as the legend and fable of a fantastic character. The latter are generally worked out on the basis of the idea of the struggle between good and evil, symbolically represented by the dragon and the monster. An interesting element of this world outlook is the concept on the role of work and life in the struggle against the evil. The dragon fights the monster holding either the plow or the cradle in his hand, which are symbols of work and the regeneration of life.

Christian religions and pagan elements are inter-linked also in customs, birth rites, marriage and death rites, in the practices and songs of the New Year, work, etc. To this early period belong those rudimental musical forms which are found in the folk song, such as the narrow gamut of melody (pentatone), the narrow decorative line and the character of recital of the song which is something between the spoken form and the initial melodic form. Polyphony and homophony, as two dialectical variants of the ancient folk song, have characterized the folk song of the period under examination. Albanian-Illyrian analogies justify our supposition that the double pipe, the pipe, the «lahuta», etc. were used also by the early Albanians, who, judging from the more archaic practice of a ritual character of the folk dance, must have known also the circle dance.

The subjects of the folk songs have changed in the course of time and it is very difficult to find their

earliest traces. Nevertheless, the songs of spring festivals, farming and livestock raising, and the legends in songs include pagan customs, rites and motifs characteristic of early Mediaeval Byzantium, such as those about the dead brother, the recognition, etc., which lead us back to the time of our ancestors who sang to the deeds of their heroes, just as their descendants have done. The cycle of the knights parallel with the motifs about the supernatural strength of the heroes and about mythological figures, depicts motifs from real life, the struggle against foreign oppression, which judging from the world outlook and the location of events, belong mainly to the 12th-15th centuries.

The unequal socio-economic development in the beginning of the Middle Ages and the regional traditions inherited from the Illyrians created a variety of popular culture among the early Albanians. It has common elements which developed and created the single cultural unit, on the basis of which the Albanian national culture was formed. The factors that contributed to this unification were not only the territory, the common language and the common ethnographic legacy, but also the fact that the peasant communities coexisted for centuries outside or inside the Byzantine empire without such internal conflicts that would have undermined this unity. A positive influence in hastening the process of the formation of a homogenous culture was played by the formation of the first feudal state of the Arbërs, at the end of the 12th century, although this state did not include the whole of the Arbëresh territory. The existence for many centuries of extensive territories outside the Byzantine and Bulgarian pressure, as well as the liberation wars against foreign domination, created among the early Albanians some common customs connected with their activities and way of thinking.

On the basis of the territorial, linguistic and cultural community and with the development of feudal relations, the awareness of the ethnic community was created and

was expressed with the gradual extension among the members of this community of the common name of the people *Arbër*, *Arbën*, and of the name of the country *Arbri*, *Arbëni*, which, even though it was replaced later with the names *Shqiptar* and *Shqipëri*, is preserved in our days as an ethnonym and toponym from the North to the South of the country, in all the territory inhabited by the Albanians as well as among the Albanians of Greece, Italy and Dalmatia, who emigrated from their country in the 14th-18th centuries.

This fact proves that the consciousness of the Arbëresh nationality had been formed and consolidated in spite of the religious division into Catholic and Orthodox, in spite of the territorial division, that the Arbëresh and Epirote names, which were used to designate the population of the country, are proof of the same ethnic appartenance and that, consequently, the national consciousness had its roots deep in the Early Middle Ages.

From the end of the 14th century the ethnic culture of the Albanians had begun to develop at rapid rates as a result of the increase of the productive forces in agriculture and the transformation of the cities into important centres of handicraft production and internal and external trade. It was on this basis that the objective tendency towards the formation of a centralized state on the territory inhabited by a population that spoke the same language and had the same culture, began to make itself felt. Begun under Ballsha II, this process was hastened in the heat of the anti-Ottoman wars of the 15th century and resulted in the formation of the Albanian state led by Skanderbeg. This new factor of the superstructure and, especially, the great anti-Ottoman war which included the whole people for more than a quarter of a century, hastened in an extraordinary manner the rates of the ethnic consolidation of the Albanian people. The overcoming of the difficulties arising from the feudal partitioning of the country and the

union of all human and economic means and resources had a powerful influence in strengthening the cultural unity of the Albanian people. This was expressed with special strength in the military unity of the people against foreign invaders, in the tempering of national consciousness, in the outbreak of a high patriotic spirit, in the strengthening of that distinguishing and lasting factor of the Albanian people which is the unbounded love of freedom and independence of their country and their readiness to spare nothing for it.

Thus, the epoch of Skanderbeg left a rich spiritual heritage and cultural traditions of such deep roots to the consciousness of the posterity that the Albanian people preserved them, even in the centuries of the Ottoman rule, and developed them not only inside the country but also outside it, in foreign lands where great masses of Albanians who had emigrated from the Homeland, settled.



The problem of the cultural physiognomy of the Albanians in the Middle Ages is connected closely with the problem of cultural borrowings, the relationships of autochthonous culture and loan elements.

The autochthonous culture, about which we spoke above, constitutes the fundamentals of popular culture, which with the development of the Albanian society, has been continuously enriched by its carriers. The Albanian people have maintained relations with other peoples, especially their neighbours, have borrowed elements of their culture and have given them elements of their own culture. The intensity of borrowings and their character was determined especially by the fact that during their history, the Albanian people were under the rule of foreign states. In these years under foreign domination the Albanian popular culture developed its

links with the culture of other peoples, which have left their traces in it.

The deepest impressions of all, especially, in the way of life of our people, were made by the nearly five-centuries old Ottoman rule, and this not so much through the contacts between the Ottoman Turks and the Albanians, because the occupation of the country was not accompanied with massive Ottoman colonization, as through the Moslem religion, which was used as a powerful vehicle for the assimilation of the peoples. At the end of the 17th century and during the 18th century, with the economic, social, political and ideological changes in the life of the Albanian cities and with the massive Islamization of the local population, the cities came into extensive contacts with the Turkish-Oriental life and culture and became centres of the spread of this culture in the country.

The influence of this culture was reflected in the appearance of the cities, in aspects of the material life, in the position of the woman in family and society, in the rules of etiquette, the manner of feeding, etc. From the cities this influence spread to the country under pressure of foreign rulers, the local ruling classes, and as a result of the economic links between them. However, the influence of this culture was much reduced in the country, and almost inexistent in the extensive zones of the North and the South, in which, due to a tradition of centuries-long resistance, very weak links developed between them and the Ottoman rulers. The Turkish borrowings in the Albanian language are a reflection of the spread of this influence in Albania. Three fourths of the Turkish terms borrowed belong to the sphere of city life and especially administration and religious rites, and only one fourth of them have a direct connection with country life, or are otherwise connected with it.

The first to be converted to Islamism were the feudal lords who did this in order to preserve their social standing. This phenomenon, which in the beginning had

a sporadic character, brought about the disruption of the links between the converts and their fellow countrymen, and the change of the ethnic awareness of the converts who regarded themselves as Turks. The massive Islamization of the Albanians in the 17th-18th centuries had not and could not have such consequences. Indeed it spread rapidly in large peasant zones, but was powerless to change the language, traditions, and the ethnic consciousness of the population, just as Christianity had not succeeded in changing them among other sections of the population.

These facts enable us to form an idea of the role of religions in the ethnic history of the Albanian people. Under the impact of the foreign invaders from the West and the East, the population of the country, which had always struggled to survive, grasping strongly at the roots of their ancient traditions, could not avoid some influence of them in their popular culture, which nevertheless never went deep into it. This is proof of the strength and resistance of the autochthonous culture and ethnic consciousness of the Albanians, and the fact that the religious division in Albania did not lead to the formation of separate nationalities as was the case in Catholic Croatia, Orthodox Serbia and Moslem Bosnia. In our case this situation led to the process of the rapid liquidation, in the conditions of socialism, of religious institutions, as bearers of the reactionary ideology and a basis for foreign dominations.

While preserving and developing their own culture the Albanian people have given the neighbouring peoples elements of material culture (house utensils and especially elements of dress), as well as of the social and spiritual culture (customs, songs and dances, etc.). This contribution has been the result not of invasions carried out by Albanians, because there have been none, but of the cultural contacts, and is due to the original values of our popular culture.

In order to estimate the character and role of cultural

borrowings, excluding influences imposed by the strength of foreign domination, we must bear in mind that they are not mechanical acts, or proofs of the inferiority or superiority of the peoples, but the result of mutual relations. As a rule, the assimilation of foreign ethno-cultural elements is realized in the cases in which a given population is historically predisposed to acquire foreign elements created by other peoples in similar concrete historical conditions.

When we speak of mutual cultural borrowings among the peoples of the Balkans we must take into consideration the fact that there are common elements of the material, social and spiritual culture which exist as substrata stratified in the course of time, and which are due both to the Thracian-Illyrian proximity and the later Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman cultures which spread in the Balkans in the centuries.

In the case under discussion the term «cultural borrowing» has its original meaning only for the first stage of the process, because the borrowed cultural elements are subjected by our people to a creative process in which they have taken on new forms of expression in conformity with the tradition, taste and requirements of the country and with the material possibilities and technique of the people. This local colouring influenced even the content of the borrowed elements, thus gradually integrating them into the fund of the Albanian autochthonous culture, subjecting them to the internal laws of development and transforming them into an indivisible constituent part of it.

It is the merit of the Albanian people, of their creative genius and their resourceful spirit, that through centuries of foreign domination, coping with success with the pressure of assimilation by powerful empires, they preserved and developed their culture, not by hiding away in the mountains, but in relation with the outside world and its culture. «The fact that our small people did not disappear and were not assimilated by the big

peoples which enslaved them, or by their developed culture, shows that our people also have made their cultural contribution, together with armed resistance in this direction»¹ says Comrade Enver Hoxha.

It is true that after the brilliant epoch of Skanderbeg, the dark of the almost five-centuries long domination of the Ottoman feudal military empire descended, impeding the natural development of the Albanian nationality and its culture. Savage repression by the Sultans, systematic lawless plunder of the country by them, merciless exploitation of the working masses of the countryside and town, all this threw the country into profound socio-economic backwardness.

Nevertheless, the Albanian society, even though backward and fragmented under the foreign Ottoman rule, was not a static society. The ceaseless uprisings of our people «for defence, for winning and defending their freedom, independence, language and culture,»² accompanied with the regional and inter-regional assemblies, the yearly internal migrations of the herdsman, the continuous movements of the highlanders in search of the means of livelihood, the internal movements of the population, seasonal or permanent emigration, etc. account for the dynamic character of the Albanian society, in general.



The 18th and especially the 19th century, with the emergence and development of the capitalist relations, which led to the formation of the Albanian nation as an ethnic unit of a higher type and to the transformation of the Albanian popular culture into national culture,

1 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 17, pp. 481-482, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 21, p. 362, Alb. ed.

mark a new stage in the ethnographic development of the Albanian nationality.

Extensively documented with material proof that has reached our days and has been collected with great care, the national popular culture represents a great irreplaceable wealth, which, however, is not studied thoroughly. Nevertheless, the results achieved by the ethnographic science enable us to point out some of its fundamental features.

The popular culture of the 18th-19th centuries consisted of two main spheres: the peasant culture, which remained the predominating culture because 90 per cent of the Albanian population lived in the countryside, and the town culture.

The slow development of ancient cities and the new peasant origin of the new urban centres did not permit the creation of essential differences between these two cultural spheres.

Outwardly the village preserved its definite aspects, determined by the relief of the country and its level of development; its dwelling houses were often largely scattered over hilly and mountainous zones or more concentrated in the plains and at the foot of the hills and mountains. Although the work tools had remained in general those in use in the past centuries, new agricultural crops had been introduced in the country including maize, which became the source of staple food, tobacco, and cotton which gradually replaced flax, etc. Grappling with natural difficulties and in conformity with the concrete conditions of the country, the methods of work were improved on the basis of experience. The Albanian peasants knew the rules of seed selection, agrarian rotation, the importance of organic manure (hence, the saying «ten old men may tell a lie, but a basket of manure does not lie»), knew the importance of irrigation (hence, the saying, «I swear on the land under water»), and were masters of aqueducts and irrigation canals, practised terracing extensively, almost in all the moun-

tainous parts of the country, had mastered the technique of processing sheep and goat milk, etc.

The Albanian village preserved, until recently, the household artisan production as a side-pursuit of livestock farming, in which wool manufacturing, the most widespread household pursuit, was the responsibility of the woman. The peasants were outstanding stone-cutters, and masters of wood carving, which developed with individual features in different regions and which in certain zones, especially in that of Dibra, was raised to high professional levels that became known outside the country.

Centuries ago, the city had begun to expand outside the walls of castles, but still retained the appearance of Mediaeval times, with the market-place and artisan shops set up apart from the dwelling quarters, most of which still continued in the ways of the peasant economy.

The peasant and city popular culture preserved the regional characteristics determined by the different degrees of the socio-economic development of the regions, the specific conditions, the degree of class differentiation, etc. The period of feudalism with its natural economy and relative isolation of regions, had deepened the differences among them. This explains the variety of types of work tools, dwellings, manner of wearing, motifs of embroidery, technique of carving, metalworking and especially the folk costume which appears in about 140 forms within the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The 19th century saw important changes in the popular culture. With the disintegration of the natural economy and the social differentiation of the peasantry, important sections of the peasant population appear more and more on the markets to sell the products of their labour. The extension of the links of the village with the city encouraged the pursuits of artisans who worked on objects of peasant origin destined for the village. With the opening of the roads of communication connecting a

number of cities and the extension of trade links in the countryside, the economic links between local markets and the main towns of the country, as well as between towns, grew stronger until they became links of the internal national market. The economic relations between groups of local population began to be consolidated, the local markets merged into a common national market, and the economic community of the Albanian regions began to be formed. According to the classics of Marxism-Leninism this process is the new important factor which lies on the basis of the territorial community and opens the road to the formation of the cultural community. The nation, in the original sense of the word, is formed on the basis of these convergent historical processes. When we speak of the Albanian nation and its national culture we have always in mind the known thesis of V. I. Lenin on two nations in every bourgeois nation, and on two cultures in every national culture. In conformity with this thesis we distinguish the popular culture from the reactionary feudal-religious and bourgeois culture, and within the popular culture we distinguish the progressive elements from the reactionary elements which result from the pressure exercised by the ruling classes.

This original popular, progressive national culture is the object of our study.

The development and unification of the popular culture and its transformation into national culture was the result not only of the extension and deepening of the socio-economic and political-cultural links among the Albanian regions, but also of the enrichment of the popular culture with elements of the new democratic culture of our National Renaissance.

The popular culture developed in two directions: on the one hand the material and artistic culture of the city was enriched with new elements and reached relatively high levels (the number of trades practised in them was about 70); on the other hand new phenomena such as the generalization of the ethnic-cultural elements over the

whole Albanian territory or over large parts of it and the increase of mutual influences and the cultural rapprochement between countryside and city, began to operate more extensively and at more rapid rates. These important factors consolidated the unity of the popular culture as never before.

The reciprocal influence and the proximity of the above-mentioned cultural spheres developed in several ways: first, through the peasant masters who worked in the city as masons, stone carvers, wood engravers, and in other pursuits; second, through the ever more extensive circulation of town artisan products in the countryside and vice-versa; and, third, through the continuous increase of the town population with peasants, who, in one way or another, settled in towns.

This process, which in many cases led to a fusion of cultural elements of the two spheres, cannot be understood without taking into consideration the fact that both cultures had one common base. Thus, the wooden plough with a triangle piece became predominant in all the Albanian territories. The more elementary variants of the peasant dwelling bear a striking resemblance with one another not only in the exterior, but also in the interior. The peasant dwelling influenced the creation of some types of town dwellings. The most widespread of them is the type of stone-masonry house built on slopy grounds, with two or three internal divisions. The dwelling with a porch was common in towns and in rural Central Albania. Its later development in the main cities of the country produced the type of dwelling with internal balcony. In spite of its development the town dwelling preserved for a long time some functional elements which are identical with those of the peasant dwelling. Although the «shtëpia e zjarrit» (room with a fireplace) lost some of its former functions, it still played an important role also in town dwellings.

The fundamental features of the popular dress, such as fustanella (kilt), a men's dress which became the

distinguishing feature of the Albanians and spread from Kosova to Çamëria, the «tirq» (tight-legged breeches), the long shirt and the «xhoka» (sleeveless vest) for women, were in general use.

These common national features and their unity are expressed clearly also in the social and spiritual culture of the period under discussion.

The social and spiritual culture expressed in customs and habits, popular art, etc., has changed along with the changes in the economic base, the world outlook and mentality of the time. The social structures of the Mediaeval times, religious, feudal and patriarchal ideology, which was the predominating ideology, left their stamp on the social and spiritual culture of the people. These cultural superstrata, imposed by the time, which belittled human values, were wedged in the healthy body of the popular culture only to be cast away later. On the other hand, the national and social oppression, like in all other fields, here too, was a clamp on the creative energies of the people. However, if we today take pride in the great positive values of the culture of our people, which have been created in these conditions, this shows that the popular genius is inextinguishable, is always creative, in spite of the adversities of the time. The creation of spiritual values is an essential need. Through this the people express themselves in terms of beauty, expound their joys and grievances, their love and hate. Under superstrata of the foreign and reactionary social and spiritual culture, we find the real culture of the people, a realistic and profoundly humane fund which expresses the morality, the aspirations and noble feelings of the simple working people. Although the circumstances and the times were such that placed part of the popular artistic values in the service of religion in order to capture the minds of the people with their beauty, or in the service of the rich circles in order to fulfill their requirements, they remain a proof of the popular creative genius.

The popular fund of customs, habits and art can

spread easily from one region to the other, from the village to the town and vice-versa, and becomes an expression of the collective psychology of the nation, always retaining its local shades. It represents in itself the unity of the world outlook and a common basis of artistic taste and concepts about beauty, virtue, honour, courage, the given word, etc.

In this context there are some specific features common for the whole people. The customs and habits connected with family life and productive activities, such as the birth and marriage rites, the festivities marking the beginning and end of farm work, etc., have a strong ring of respect for the regeneration of life, love for the child and the young bride and mother of children, for the tendency to enlarge the circle of friends who have always been greatly esteemed, the love of the common people for work, for the land, for the livestock and for the Albanian nature.

The customs and habits bear the stamp of the continuous wars against foreign rulers. They have determined a special concept about death in battle, as a heroic death, which is preferred to death in bed and is worth all homages. It is not accidental that in the great variety of genres and forms of folklore, the first place is occupied by oral, musical and choreographic epic. It is not accidental that Albania is one of the last cradles of heroic epic in Europe.

The rites and ceremonies of the people were inspired by the desire to enjoy life as it was, and the aspirations to a happier future. This optimism about life is expressed with special strength and refined taste in the popular art which combines this element with the material activity, and which is expressed in the textile products, stone work, wood carving, metal work, etc. The shepherd ornamented his staff and bowl, the highlander ornamented his «lahuta» and double pipe, the fighter his weapons, the woman the woollen, cotton and silk cloths and everything else she produced. «This optimism... has

been immortalized in the rich legacy of oral literature, in songs, in dances, in costumes and in the other wonderful traditions. This is something magnificent, which only the genius of the people materializes in art in a perfect manner,»³ says Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The national consciousness of the Albanian people was formed on the basis of the cultural community which was consolidated in the 19th century. After the Turkish occupation the old names *Arbër* and *Arbëri* began to drop out of use. The reasons for this must be sought in the great confusion that followed the Ottoman occupation, the conversion of the local feudal class and the change in their ethnic awareness, the economic and political fragmentation of the Albanian regions and the influence of the Moslem ideology. The word *shqip* (Albanian) as an adverb is found in the written documents of the 16th century in Gjon Buzuku's book and in the writers of the 17th century. The ethnonym *Shqiptar* (Albanian people) is first seen in the writings of the 18th century and later more often in documents and folk songs of this century. Next to the ethnonym *Shqiptar*, which designates the people who speak a language different from that of the Ottoman rulers and the neighbouring peoples, the toponym *Shqipëria* was used and began to spread in the 18th century in order to designate the territories of the Albanians. The coexistence of the old names *Arbër* and *Arbëri* along with the names *shqiptar* and *Shqipëri*, ended in the 19th century with the spread and general use of the new names as the names of the people, the nation and their territories which include the two large ethnographic territories of Gegëria and Toskëria in one single unit.

Apart from other things, the study of our national popular culture raises the problem of a correct understanding of its diversity and unity.

³ Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1974-1975», p. 104, Aib. ed.

The diversity and unity of our national popular culture should be seen in the light of their dialectical development and conditioned by one another. The relation between them is the relation between the regional and the national.

In the context of the national popular culture, regional differences are special aspects of the national specific element connected with it, just as the specific element is connected with the general element.

The Albanian national cultural unity in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century did not and could not liquidate the variety of regional forms, which were preserved not only as carriers of past traditions but also as expressions of national specific features. We might say that the Albanian national popular culture is one single building in which regional diversity of forms are so many ornaments of its walls.

The great political, ideological and cultural movement of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, which entered history under the name of National Renaissance, played an important role and opened a new epoch in the formation of the national unity of the social and spiritual culture of the Albanian people. This movement expressed the vital interests of the Albanian people, the aim for liberation from foreign yoke, for the formation of the national state and for opening the road for the democratic development of the country. As such, it based itself on the culture of the people, was inspired by it and used the positive social and spiritual values of this culture as a means for national awakening and affirmation. On the other hand, the culture of the Renaissance, being of a higher level and produced by learned men with a broad horizon, further enriched and developed the popular culture and hastened the process of its unification.

Making a correct assessment of the role of the cultural heritage in the ethnical preservation of the Albanian people, the men of the Renaissance based their patriotic

activity on it, carefully collected and published what the people had created in the centuries in order to show the world the existence of a nation with its own ancient and rich culture, which gave it the right to take the place it deserved among the other peoples. Besides this, the main aim of the men of the Renaissance was to take these values to their true owner, the people, in order to strengthen their national feelings, to build up their confidence, their love of the free and united homeland, the Albanian language and school.

For this purpose, De Rada, Thimi Mitko, Spiro Dine, Zef Jubani, and others collected and published Albanian folk songs. In their artistic activity the men of the Renaissance described the customs and habits, the psychology and mentality of the people, all the Albanian world with its national peculiarities. Their aim was to arouse the Albanians' pride in the ancient original culture of their country. They knew how to distinguish what was positive from what was negative, the progressive from the reactionary in this tradition, rejecting the patriarchal leftovers in the way of living, the Turkish mentality, and exalting the high moral virtues of the Albanians, their qualities as hard-working people and good farmers and pastors, skilled artisans and masters of the loom and metalwork.

Based on the popular culture and expressing the aspirations of the broad masses of the people, the culture of the Renaissance assumed a popular character which grew increasingly higher in its last period when writers such as Çajup, Asdren, Grameno and others saw in the peasants, in the shepherd, in the common folk, not only the carriers of the true Albanian culture but also the sure support in the struggle for national liberation.

The culture of the Renaissance, as part of the national culture, marked one of its highest stages. It opened new ideological horizons to the cultural and spiritual culture. Unlike the previous literary production, which had a religious direction, the culture of the Renaissance

had a secular and patriotic character. It put nationality over religious considerations, national unity above religious and regional division, unified literary language above the dialects and vernaculars. The three foreign cultures connected with the three religions which existed in Albania were a serious obstacle to the liberation struggle. By rejecting this centuries-old negative tradition the men of the Renaissance affirmed the principle that «the religion of the Albanian is Albanianism», and declared that Albania is the common homeland of the Albanian nation in which the freedom-loving efforts of the people should be united in the common struggle for national liberation.

This fundamental idea determined also the content of illuminism which placed the light of education and culture above mediaeval obscurantism. The men of the Renaissance were for a school free from religious and foreign influences which Zef Jubani considered a danger to literature and our national customs, for a secular school in the Albanian language, a school which would spread the national feeling among the Albanians of the three faiths, a school which would be democratic and include in itself all the children of the poor strata. This was achieved by the first Albanian schools and the textbooks which the outstanding men of the Renaissance compiled for them.

An essential part of this platform was the demand of the men of the Renaissance for the situation of stagnation and backwardness to be overcome, and for the economy and society to advance on the road of progress. This could not be achieved by remaining slaves to all traditions. The popular social and spiritual culture had in itself remnants inherited from the centuries, or imposed by the foreign rulers and the local feudal gentry, and especially the religions, which inhibited the Albanian society from advancing in step with the time. The ideologists of this period understood the contradiction between loyalty to tradition as an effort for national survival to

escape assimilation, and the need for revival and progress. Their struggle for the revival of Albania was directed not towards the negation of everything traditional in the name of the new, but towards the assessment of everything positive which had been created and which served both the struggle for freedom and the economic and social advancement of the country.

With its new national democratic culture the National Renaissance vehemently opposed two most dangerous assimilating trends of the time: that for the Oriental direction of the popular culture and that for the Hellenization of people's cultures by standing as close as possible to the great progressive trends of other peoples.

Through the press, literary publications, the school and, especially, the liberation armed struggle, the Renaissance imparted a powerful impulse to the formation of the people's national awareness, the unification of their national culture and their political unification.

Independent Albania began its life with this rich cultural legacy. The proclamation of Independence marked an important historical change also in the destinies of the Albanian national culture, which was finally freed from the influence of the Ottoman and Greek culture, whereas the part of the territories of the country which remained outside its political borders, came face to face with the new and great assimilating pressure of the neighbouring monarchies.

In the years of Independence, the problem of the national popular culture came up against the fierce class and ideological contradictions of the time, which had in their foundation the opposite conceptions on the role of the popular masses in history, and which were directly connected with the road of the further development of the country and the very character of the social and political regime in power.

Two opposite poles were thus formed. The ruling classes, the landowners and the reactionary bourgeoisie

and their «old», «new» and «neo-Albanian» ideologists, together with the ideologists of the clergy, proceeded from the reactionary concept that the popular masses are uncivilized, unable to produce culture and become civilized, that the true carriers of the national culture are the rich classes in power, which are destined to lead the mob, that the social and spiritual development of the country is inconceivable without religion. These concepts were embodied in the policy pursued by the Zog regime. It was an obscurantist policy aimed at maintaining the situation of cultural backwardness in the country.

All the democratic forces of the country, and especially the communists, opposed this and worked to deepen the traditions of the Renaissance. They lined themselves on the side of the people, whom they considered to be the makers of history and the carriers of the true popular culture, seeing it from the angle of the Renaissance in order to back up and develop the progressive aspects and reject the patriarchal, feudal and religious leftovers. Through the democratic press they condemned the scornful stand of the ruling classes towards the working people and their culture, towards the national values of the Renaissance, pointed out the great harm which the national culture suffered from the continued Turkish cosmopolitan tradition and blind obedience and humiliation to the «western» mode of living.

These forces, and especially the patriotic teachers of Albania, materialized their respect for the national culture in their collections of the popular culture, in the ever broader reflection in literature of the political cultural values of the people and the conflict between the new demands of the time and the backward conservative mentality and customs, in the struggle for the spread of education, for the emancipation of women, etc.

However, the democratic and communist forces and the peasants' and workers' revolutionary movement were still not strong enough to change the situation. The working people were left to the mercy of the fate to clash

with all the difficulties resulting from poverty and exploitation. Nevertheless, even in these conditions they fought, as in the past, to preserve their culture.

Our Anti-fascist National Liberation War, our new socialist order inherited this valuable wealth which was the fruit of the talent, the creative power and spirit of entire generations. With it the people expressed their ethnic and national individuality, on which they relied in order to affirm themselves as an individual ethnos among the other peoples and nationalities. In it they found the source of hope for a better future and the inspiration to cope with the storms of history, and used it as a powerful weapon in the long struggle for survival, for freedom, independence and social justice. Its wealth, originality, endurance, vitality, diversity and unity, these values of the national popular culture were handed down to the generations of the popular revolution and socialist society. Popular culture saw in these generations and in the leadership by the Party of Labour of Albania not only the ardent champion of its great positive values but also those who, for the first time in history, opened up the great road of development and progress, made it part of the socialist culture and a source of inspiration to build the new life.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has said that this culture is for us, the generations of the socialist society, «the object of legitimate pride», «our contribution to the treasury of the world culture.»

ON THE ORIGIN AND AGE OF SOME ELEMENTS OF TRADITIONAL DRESS

The way of clothing is of special importance for the culture of a people, because it is the result of a long process of formation through history.

The aim of the investigation into the historic development of folk costumes is to outline a certain chronological order of the stages through which it has gone. Folk costumes have changed ceaselessly in the course of centuries. They represent elements or traces of elements from the cultural influences in the life of our people. They carry elements of the old culture of the Balkans and the Mediterranean, of the Illyrian culture, the Byzantine and Oriental culture and of the West-European culture of the last centuries. However, these influences vary according to the conditions of the socio-economic periods in which they were exercised. So, clothing, like other fields of material culture, has in itself various elements laid over one another in the centuries, which can be discovered through the confrontation of corresponding elements of other peoples with whom our people have had contacts in their ancient history. In the first place,

this is connected with the culture of our ancestors, the early Albanians, and further back, with the Illyrians, and second, with the cultures of the neighbouring peoples.

The investigation of the different forms of an element of material culture opens the way to determining its morphological character and, judging from their present forms, to gradually tracing back their initial phase, that is, the prototype. And this because morphological forms are of greater stability and lasting. Therefore, the careful study of the present forms and their evolution during the centuries assumes special importance.

The study of the elements of material culture is not restricted to recording and describing their forms. The latter serve to sift out cultural elements in their ethnographic context and to determine the specific aspects of their morphological structure. Without this it is impossible to follow its transformations in the course of history.

The studies conducted hitherto have helped us determine, with some approximation, some of the main elements of clothing, the cultures of the ancient peoples which are connected with it, the vestiges of mediaeval costumes in the popular costumes, the consequences of the influence of Ottoman culture in them, etc.

This article will deal mainly with the relations between some elements of the folk costumes and the corresponding elements of clothing of various Illyrian tribes. The last decades have been fertile in investigations and studies in determining such analogies.

The generally accepted opinion of the specialists today is that the main elements of our popular dress, which have their origin in the Illyrian culture, are the shirt in the form of the ancient dalmatica, fustanella (kilt), «kallçij» (leggings) and «tirq» (tight-legged breeches), «struka» (scarf) and «llabania» (plaid), headkerchief for women, hide shoes, etc. Older still and used in the times of the Illyrians are the «xhubleta» (long smock), tasseled apron, long sash with pops and the ribbed sash, etc. Here follows the examination of some of these elements.



1. — «Linja» (long shirt), as the fundamental element of the popular dress of Albania and of the Albanians of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, has a rectangular shape, without seams in the shoulderpiece, with the sleeves attached directly to the arm-hole, and with a T-neck. There are different variants of this type, which have to do with secondary elements, such as length or the number of pleats, but no other type of shirts distinct from this one exists. The type of the shirt with sleeves sewn right up to the neck, which is widespread in Eastern Balkans, has not been found anywhere in our country.

Up till the beginning of the 20th century the name that designates this type of dress was «linja». This is clearly and abundantly proved not only by the popular tradition but also by the folklore published during the last century. This is certainly connected with the fact that the use of linen cloth was common and that the plant was cultivated widely in the country.

This type of shirt used in our country was known also in Northern Greece, in Macedonia and Serbia, in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro and Dalmatia. It is also known in a part of Rumania and Bulgaria, where it is used along with other types of shirts.

A close inspection of the existing variants of this type of shirt reveals the presence of archaic features in the way they are cut, which relate this element of dress to an Illyrian dress known as «Dalmatica», a type of dress of the Illyrian tribe of the Dalmatians.

What do we know about the Illyrian Dalmatica? Isidore, an author of the Antiquity, testifies that it was the type of dress first used in Dalmatia.¹

¹ Isidori, Etymolog. XIX, 22: «Dalmatica vestis primum in Dalmatia... texta est».

Quite a few representations of this type of dress have been found in the Illyrian territory. The finds made by our archaeologists, such as a woman's bust in Dimal (Kro-tina of Mallakastra),² show that the shirt of this type was used in Illyria at least since the 3rd-2nd centuries b.o.e. In their earlier forms the Dalmatica shirt is a knee-length smock. It is found in a tombstone unearthed in the Korça district, representing two blacksmiths, or in another tombstone found in Vlora, representing a man holding a hammer.³ The shirts seen in the mural paintings of the catacombs of Rome and other monuments of the Roman time reach down to the ankle or the calf of the leg.

In the first centuries of our era, this type of shirt was used by various strata of the Illyrian population, and in the 3rd century Dalmatica was the predominating type of dress, having thus altogether replaced the tunic. This we deduce from the Edicts of Emperor Diocletianus, of the year 301 of our era.⁴ The Edicts mention a number of Dalmaticas, made of wool, linen, silk, or those with long and short sleeves, with decorative hemlines or not, and with prices varying so much that the most expensive cost twenty times as much as the cheapest specimens. The same thing is concluded from the monuments, in which the Dalmatica sometimes appears as a piece of clothing made of rough and somewhat stiff cloth, and sometimes as one made of smooth flowing cloth. Thus, we are permitted to say that the Dalmatica was used by various strata of the Illyrian slave-owning society, that is, by people belonging to different professions and ages. The type made of coarse linen cloth was certainly worn

2 B. Dautaj, *The discovery of the Illyrian Town of Dimal*, «Historical Studies». 1965.

3 The former is at the Museum of Korça, with inventory number 840, and the latter in the Museum of Vlora.

4 Edictus Diocletianii Anno 301, *De pretiis rerum*, paragr. 16, 17, 18, in «Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum», vol. XV, pp. 836-838.

by the ordinary working people, especially in the village, who in the cold season must have used the woollen Dalmatica shirt. We may also accept unhesitatingly that the more simpler types without ornaments were used by definite age-groups, especially the girls and the older people, whereas those with ornaments were used for special occasions. The monuments show that over the Dalmatica shirt some put on a Roman-style tunic. These, in my opinion, should be considered as Illyrians dressed up for celebration. The most luxurious forms of Dalmatica are those made of silk, with a broad purple hemline (*laticlavum*) reaching down to the ankle.

The extensive use of the Dalmatica shirt in Albania and in the greater part of the Western Balkans in modern times, and, on the other hand, the representation of its ordinary forms in the many monuments of the Antiquity found in different zones of Illyria, are clear testimony of the intensive Illyrian-Albanian links. They also prove that the strong element inherited from the Illyrian sub-stratum of Late Antiquity occupies an important place in the culture of the Slavonian peoples that came to these zones at a later period. This type of shirt, with its incontestable Illyrian character, has the value of a proof that expresses the ethnic links between our culture and the Illyrian culture.



2. — Another element of clothing, typologically very close to the shirt, is the «*xhoka*» (sleeveless vest). The careful examination of the simplest forms of «*xhoka*» used in our country reveals that the difference between the traditional Dalmatica shirt and the «*xhoka*» consists in a very natural and gradual transformation connected with the neck and the front piece which continues

through the whole length of the body. These transitional forms developed later into numerous variants on the basis of variations on the sides, a phenomenon which did not occur with the shirt. Thus, the vest was a «xhoka» with a conical form, with the bottom wider than the upper part of it, or even a «xhoka» with a small waistline and very wide bottom.

In the beginnings of our era, the «xhoka» was cut in tight-fitting forms, without any development from the armpits down to the bottom, but in the Middle Ages, the urban clothing of the time of Byzantium began to influence the folk costumes of the more developed regions, replacing the worsted woollen cloth with cotton fabric, and especially, affecting forms of cut even in the regions where the woollen cloth was still in use. This influence resulted, in time, in the forms of «cibun» and «shcgun», with a narrow waistline and sides cut lengthwise, which are characteristic of the famous Albanian «flokata» (tasselled vest) of the beginning of the 19th century and other analogous forms for men and women, especially in Southern Albania. This type of dress, especially those made of imported velvet and heavily embroidered with silk and gold threads, were in wide circulation in the Balkans for a number of centuries. In the period of the Ottoman occupation, decorative motifs were added. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that along with them, the ordinary «xhoka», which retained some of the ancient features and through which we can trace back its distant past, was in common use in many zones.



3. — An important element of dress, no doubt, is the «xhubleta», a long smock with undulated bell-shaped bottom-line, which hangs on the shoulders with two broad strips. It consists of a surprisingly great number of wool-

len strips alternated with braids, pieced together with high skill in order to achieve the form, stiffness and undulation desired. Its ornaments are the most striking feature.

Even though it reached our century as an element of dress in which the black colour predominated, the white was used just for a touch up here and there along with the red and light violet, it is known that in the earlier variants this kind of dress was rich in colours: «Neither the peacock, nor the rainbow could match the xhubleta of the Kelmendi women,» was the enthusiastic observation of an 18th century author.⁵

All the above-mentioned characteristics make the «xhubleta» an element of dress which stands as an individual specimen among the other elements of our people's dress.

Although it was used by the Albanians in a narrow strip at the foot of the Alps⁶ on either side of the present state border of our country, among the Albanians of Montenegro and those of Rugova (Kosova), its parallel developments in other parts of the Balkans have aroused great interest among the scholars. We have a detailed description of it in the middle of the 18th century.⁷ For the time being we have no earlier figurative representations of it, which makes it difficult for us to trace down its origin.

Nevertheless, this is not impossible. The opinion expressed by Nopča, that the predecessor of the «xhubleta» should be sought in the figurine found in Kličevač (Yu-

5 The Hungarian writer Daniel Cordiesz, who visited the Albanian population of Srem about 1790. Quoted from K. Ikalacz, *Narodne nosnje Sremski Klimentata u Hrtkovcima i Nikincima*, in «Rada Vojvodanskih Muzeja», Novi Sad 1954, p. 119.

6 From the beginning of the 19th century, «xhubleta» is used by the inhabitants of Mat and Buna coastal regions where people from Malësia e Madhe (Shkodra) came to dwell.

7 See footnote 5.

goslavia), has found support among some scholars,⁸ and rejected by others.⁹ The Kličevač figurine, which belongs to the Bronze Age, before the 2nd millenium b.o.e, is no doubt a very old evidence, which is very complete in itself and clearly readable in the context of other analogous figurines found on the coasts of the Mediterranean.

The character of the «xhubleta» must be analysed from the ethnographic aspect in order to make the problem more easy to approach.

What can we say about its form? With its bell-shaped bottom with undulations, with the bust left almost entirely open, and the arms and the neck uncovered, this sort of dress should have been used in regions with a mild climate, such as the coasts of the Mediterranean. Its strong colours (red, orange, etc.)¹⁰ prove our point. The upper part of the dress was decorated with tassels hanging over the shoulders, which are very clear in the figurine of Kličevač.

The fact that the «xhubleta» was used in the mountain zones in the last two centuries is explained with some modifications which resulted in poorer colours, and its use together with warm winter clothes.

For these and several other reasons, the «xhubleta», as a piece with very specific characteristics, is worth more investigations on the part of our ethnographers. It is a rare testimony of ancient civilization, one which we still cannot make to speak eloquently enough for us.

Even though its genesis cannot be considered purely Illyrian because of the similarities which it represents with some elements of dress of the Crete-Mycenaen civilization, there is no doubt that the «xhubleta» was

8 Eg. Zojzi, Gjergji Haberlandt Garashanin, Kovačević, etc.

9 Eg. V. Trbuhović, *Plastika Vrsacko-Zutobrdске kulturne grupe*, «Starinar», novaža serija, VII-VIII, Beograd 1958, pp. 137-138.

10 M. Tilke, *Das Kostumwerke*, Leipzig 1934, fig.

in use in the Illyrian civilization for centuries and was integrated into it, until it was made part of the Albanian popular culture in the course of centuries.



4. — The «kapuç» («llabania» cape) is also an element of dress of ancient origin, which is still in use in our century in some zones. The gallery of Albanian popular costumes is enriched with a number of capes, amongst which the long cape known as «llabania», which covered the head and shoulders, or sometimes hung down over the whole length of the back. It was made of goat wool, which is rain proof. Another type of cape, which is shorter and simpler, is that known as «kaçulita» used in Northern Albania up till the beginning of this century, especially, by girl shepherds, whereas in the South of the country this type of cape was attached to the woollen gown that the peasants used in winter. And lastly, another type of cape was that which the peasants improvised easily by folding the broad collar of their long «gjurdi», «kaporan» and «herka» into a hood, clasped along the edges of the collar with wire buckles.

The ancient monuments discovered show clearly that the cape in the form of «llabania» was used in our country. Worth mentioning among them is the bust of a woman from Dimal (Krotina of Mallakastër),¹¹ which belongs to the 3rd-2nd centuries b.o.e. From the study of this bust we conclude that the presence of the typical «llabania» is indisputable. Two relief figures which have been found in Durrës¹² and a third one in a tombstone

11 B. Dautaj, *The discovery of the Illyrian Town of Dimal*, in «Historical Studies», Tirana 1965, no. 2, p. 99.

12 *Fund of the Centre of Archaeological Studies*, Tirana, inventory no. 30.

in Koplik, Shkodra region¹³, are supposed to wear a «llabania». More archaeological material comes from various regions of Yugoslavia, which belong to former Illyrian territories. Our opinion is confirmed by some ancient authors who speak of the use of capes by the Illyrian tribe of Liburns and Bardais. The capes of Liburns («cuculli liburnici») are mentioned by the Roman poet of the 1st century of our era Martialis,¹⁴ whereas the capes of Bardais are mentioned by J. Capitolinus, T. Pollio and Martialis.¹⁵ Sources indicate that a thick woollen cloth was manufactured for the production of «cuculus» from Istria, Liburnia down to Dalmatia, that is, all along the Adriatic coast, up to the neighbourhood of Shkodra. This leads to the conclusion that the cape known as «llabania» was an element of dress used by many Illyrian tribes. The northernmost extremity reaches Istria, and the southernmost Dimal (Berat region), where very ancient objects have been found.

Since ancient times the cape called «llabania» was used both as an independent piece and as an attachment to plaids or gowns in the form of mantels, such as those known as «lucernae», «paenulae», etc., which in such cases were called «vestis cucullata».

Apart from our country the cape is used in some parts of Yugoslavia in the end of the 19th century by the women of the regions of Caplina in Western Hercegovina (ancient Dalmatia), together with the piece called «struka» (cloak).

Even though this part of the dress was known in ancient times by other peoples, eg. the Dacians and the Gauls of Europe, etc. the important fact is that it was known and used by our Illyrian ancestors. The fact that

13 People's Museum, Shkodra.

14 Martialis *Epigrammatum*, Book XIV, p. 139.

15 J. Capitolinus, *Pertinax imperator*, VIII; T. Pollio, *Divus Claudius*, XVII; Martialis *Epigrammatum*, Book I, p. 54 and Book XIV, p. 128.

the ancient authors use the specific ethnonym «the cape of Illyrians», or the capes of the Bardais (bardaici) or of the Liburns (liburnici), implies that these capes were different from those used by Gallic and Dacian contemporaries.

Exposure to the inclemencies of the winter, especially in the case of the herdsmen, made this very simple piece of dress an essential part of the costume which was handed down from generation to generation in the centuries and reached our century without major modifications. In our opinion, all the reasons exist to consider it as an Illyrian heritage in the fund of our popular culture.



5. — Pieces of cloth used to cover the shoulders in bad weather were used by the peasant population of our country.

The simplest form of them was the «struka» (plaid) in the shape of a rectangle, made of woollen fabric with tassels on both sides. It was used mainly to cover the shoulders, but also to cover the head in rain. This is the type of «struka» used by men and women in the zone of Postriba.¹⁶ Other sources show that «struka» was used in the past all over Leknia (alias ancient Dukagjin)¹⁷ and in original Geg regions.¹⁸

Besides the «struka», the «tallagan» (a higher form of woollen cape with a semicircular enlargement covering the back) was in use along with the «bërruc i zi» (black sheepskin cloak) of Labëria which was made of rough

16 People's Museum, Shkodra, object no. 837, Struka of Drisht.

17 *Early Collectors of Albanian Folklore*, vol. III, Tirana 1962, p. 349.

18 See A. Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Paris 1846, vol. II, p. 224.

cloth with long hair on one side. A still more developed form is the «guna» (cloak) in its many variants.

In the last century all the above-mentioned winter clothes were in greater use, as many written and figurative sources of the time show.

The «guna», as the more developed form of them, had various functions. It was used to keep the cold out, and for great occasions. The best «guna» was put on market-days or other important occasions. On the other hand, it was the inseparable part of shepherds and bandits, who used it to cover themselves with at night when sleeping. These functions of «guna» are reflected in many popular expressions and proverbs.

All the types of winter clothes, which were used to cover the shoulders, have an ancient origin and have been in use uninterruptedly in our regions, as well as by the inhabitants of many other parts. It is known that the most ancient elements of dress among the Indo-European peoples are the sashes worn round the waist and the «strukas» in the form of a plaid or cape covering the head and even the shoulders.

There exist ancient monuments in the territory of Illyria in which the figure appears clad in the «struka» and «tallagan»¹⁹. From these figurative representations we assume that the old «struka» was part of men's dress, worn on top the «dalmatica».

The «struka» was used by the ancient Greeks who called it by the name of chlamys, but many scholars are of the opinion that it was rather used by the Thessalians and Macedonians, who introduced it to the Greeks. A

¹⁹ We may mention the man represented in a tombstone found in Koplik (today in the People's Museum, Shkodra), the rider in a relief found in Apollonia, Fier (today in the Museum of Apollonia), the man in a funeral hearse, found in Bila (Dardania), and the shepherd in a relief found in Priluka (Liburnia), etc. About the last two objects see J. Cremošnik, Nošnja na rimski spomen, etc. Glasnik Zem. Muz. 1963, p. 18.

similar thing was the Roman «sagum». Other upper elements of dress used in Antiquity, which are similar to the «tallagan» and «guna», were the «paenula», «lacerna», «byrrus», etc.²⁰ These elements of dress, which the Illyrians used, are mentioned also by ancient writers who speak about the «struka» of the Dardans (chlamydem Dardanicam), the Illyrian «tallagan» (paenulam Illyricianam) and «lacerna» of the Dalmatians.²¹ Generally they were clasped by means of a fibula on to the shoulder-piece, or the front of the other clothes. In the 3rd century of our era, Illyria was renowned for the production of these elements of dress, which were made of wool of good quality, which in turn was connected with the fact that Dalmatia had good breed of sheep. In a letter which the Roman Emperor Claudius sent to the governor or Illyria Regillianus, he orders two «strukas» of the type with fibula.²² This reveals two things: first, that since that time Illyria produced high quality «strukas», and second, that fibula or other means were used as clasps.

The use of «strukas» and «tallagans» in the Middle Ages in our country is indirectly proved by many archaeological finds, in which along with other ornaments there are large fibulae used for this purpose. Such finds have been made in Koman, Kruja, Shurdhah, etc., and belong to the early Albanians of the 7th-12th centuries.²³

Thus, the piece of clothing used to cover the shoul-

20 Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, etc.; entries: chlamys, paenula, lacerna, byrrus. The sources describe the paenulas as a bell-shaped woollen dress.

21 T. Pollio, *Divus Claudius*, XVII; J. Capitolinus, *Pertinax imperator*. VIII.

22 According to Daremberg et Saglio, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 1103, VIII.

23 This type of large fibulae is preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Tirana.

ders, be it in the form of a plaid or in a semicircular form, has an ancient origin and shows that the Illyrians used a variety of forms distinct from those of other people. And these, in turn, have been inherited by the Arbërs of the Middle Ages and thence to the present popular culture of Albania.



6. — Hide shoes are an element of very ancient origin, based on autochthonous Balkan prototypes.

The hide shoes used by the Albanians belong to a distinct type with these main characteristics: they are made of one-piece rectangle hide that served both as the sole and uppers and covered only the toes; through a system of laces and strings made of leather or wool, the edges of the hide are gradually folded up to the shape of the foot and finally tied up to the ankle. In the different manners of interlacement of strings and laces, the position of the tongue and plaid of the uppers in the more developed form of shoes, we can distinguish many variants of hide shoes.

This element of footwear served as a sign to distinguish the social standing of the wearer. Whereas the upper strata of the Middle Ages wore different types of slippers, shoes and boots, most of the peasantry used only hide shoes.

Hide shoes, in various forms which represented different degrees of development, were in common use among our peasants up till the liberation of the country. The markets of the main towns had shoemakers who produced hide shoes for men and women, for the mountain-dwellers and plain-dwellers, hide shoes with reinforced soles for the shepherds or with embroidery and other ornaments for young married people.

Some forms of hide shoes of the past centuries have

come to us from figurative materials of the 19th and 18th centuries,²⁴ and occasionally of the 16th century.²⁵ They have also been preserved in the material culture of the Arbëreshi of Greece and Italy, who, as is known, migrated from the Albanian territories in the 15th century.

Among the morphological features preserved in the ordinary hide shoes we must mention the fact that they have the same shape for both feet and for both sexes.

It is worth mentioning that the type of hide shoes described above was in use not only in our country, but also in other zones of the Balkans. However, it is quite different from the structure and types of shoes and sandals used in the Greek-Roman time (*calceus*, *caliga*, *carbatine*, *cothurna*, *crepida*, *sola*, etc.) which are thoroughly studied because they appear clearly in many monuments in all parts of the ancient world.

From their comparison with the archaeological finds, which represent hide shoes of the Illyrian population such as a fragment found in a salt mine in Durrnberg (Austria), exploited by the Illyrians in the Hallstatt period (before the 5th-4th centuries b.o.e.), and two Illyrian reliefs found in Glasinac and Bihac (Yugoslavia), we find a great similarity among them. These objects of the Illyrian culture have been analyzed and commented on by some authors and the conclusion is reached that they represent a striking similarity with the hide shoes of the Dacians in the first centuries of the new era, and have marked differences with the footwear of the other peoples, such as the Greeks, Romans, Germans, and Slavs.²⁶

24 See various engravings of the 18th-19th century, eg. by Stackelberg, *Choiseul-Goffier* (1782); the anonymous painting representing the priests of the Korça bishopric (1725), etc.

25 Reference here is for the hide shoes of a shepherd appearing in an icon of the 16th century (at the Museum of Mediaeval Art, Korça).

26 See F. B. Florescu, *Opincile la romani*, Bucuresti 1959, pp. 28-30.

Hence, hide shoes should be considered as an element of Illyrian-Thracian origin.

The fact that this type of hide shoes is common in all our country shows that this Illyrian element constitutes the most important component in this field of material culture. Its presence among the Slavs of the Balkans should be explained as an influence of the Illyrian substratum, because it is known that the typical shoes used by the Slavs were those called «llaptie».



The above-mentioned elements are not the only ones which bear a resemblance with the elements of dress used by the Illyrians. Other elements of dress, which obviously have their origin in the Illyrian culture, are the «tirq» and «kallçinj» (tight-legged breeches and leggings), sashes, aprons, some kinds of hats for men and headkerchiefs for women, a series of metal ornaments, etc. An interesting field for investigation is the original popular art of ornament, of which many traditional motifs have been preserved.

From the examination of the elements of dress we made above we conclude that in some cases they were in use beyond the territories of the present-day Albanians. It is clear that this indicates the existence of an Illyrian substratum in the culture of the Slavs of the Balkans (especially those of Yugoslavia).

The fact that many elements of the dress, used by the Illyrians continue in the Albanian popular costumes even in the stage of vestiges, shows that the Illyrian material culture is the basis on which the essence of the culture of present-day Albanians has been formed. There are not accidental but important similarities in the typology of the respective elements. Certainly, many elements of the Illyrian dress disappeared during the

centuries (eg. the cap called «causia»), but other analogies, which still have not been discovered, must exist.

Besides, we must not overlook the fact that the Illyrian culture was subjected to the influence of elements of dress of other peoples, with whom they were in contact through history, just as we are not fully justified to assert that our popular culture is connected in everything with the Illyrian heritage.

The final aim of the study of the elements of material culture is to recreate the conditions in which they emerged and the aspects of the cultural life of a people, according to the various stages of their existence. By determining the time, the place and the ethnic group in which an element of culture appears, we, in fact, do nothing other than examine some of the aspects of the complex genesis of a people.

The complex problem of the genesis arises as often as an element of dress is examined. Sometimes it may appear as the product of the specific culture of a people, sometimes as the product of the historical contacts between peoples. Hence, recognition of an element of material culture is connected closely with knowledge of the historical development of a people. Therefore, the study of the elements of material culture in the course of their historical development cannot be conceived without the help of other sciences related with ethnography such as archaeology, history and linguistics.

The material presented here should be considered as an attempt to throw light on the genesis of elements examined and their ethnic character.

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ON THE PROBLEM OF THE ROMANIZATION OF THE DARDANIANS*

The Dardanians were among the best organized tribes living on the central territory of the Balkan Peninsula. We shall not dwell here on their Illyrian origin. Like all the other Illyrian tribes, the Dardanians were formed on the territory in which they have been identified with their material culture. Data about them are supplied by ancient authors. The Dardanians, as a combined stock of some Illyrian tribes, like the Thunates, Galabri and many other unidentified tribes in the central zone of the Balkan Peninsula, were organized in social and political stratifications, in military matters, with great autonomy in the intertribal relations. In their relations with their neighbours they were represented by their kings (*reges*, *reguli* and *basileis*) or chiefs (*principes*)¹.

* Taken from «The Assembly of Illyrian Studies» (Tirana 15-20 September 1972), II Tirana 1974, pp. 171-180.

1 *Polibi Historiae* (ed. Dindorf-Butner-Wobst Lipsiae 1905, in aed. B. G. Teubneri), XXIX p. 13, 1-2 ss; M. Juniani Justini *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi* (recens. F.

Although these Dardanian political institutions are mentioned by Greek and Roman authors, we are doubtful whether we can identify them with the Illyrian institutions in general, and of the Dardanians in particular. These representatives of the political institutions cannot be considered as proper dynasts as some authors think², for a number of reasons, mainly that it is difficult to imagine that a dynast could recruit a big army like that army of 20 000 men, which an unidentified king of the Dardanians offered as aid to the Macedonian king, Ptolemy Ceraunus, which the latter refused³. These representatives formed alliances like that of the year 200 b.o.e. in which King Bato, the son of Longarus, appears as the representative of the Dardanians.⁴ The Dardanians are described as an organized body with their organs, with an army capable of assisting others, and with a stratified social structure. This is why Rome was obliged to take into account their presence in this central territory of the

Tuchi, Lipsiae 1915, XXIV 4, 11; T. Livi, *Ab urbe condita* (recens. Weissenborn-M. Muller 1884-1901, in aed. B. G. Teubneri) XXX p. 28, 1-2; XLIV p. 30,4, etc.

2 F. Papazoglu, *Politička organizacija Ilirija u vreme njihove sumostalnosti*, in Simpozium u Ilirima u antičko doba, Akademika Nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. Pozebna izdanja knj. V. Centar za Balkanska ispitivanja. Knj. 2. Sarajevo 1967, p. 14; *Les Origines et la destinée de l'état Illyrien*, in «Historia», XIV, p. 2 (1965), *Poreklo i razvoj ilirske države*, in Godisnjak V/3 (1967), Sarajevo.

3 Justin, XXIV 4, pp. 9-10.

4 Liv. XXI 28, pp. 1-2; «Hac satis felici expeditione (*The Invasion of Illyria by Sulpicius.*, Z.M.) bello commissq reguli ac principes accolae Macedonum in castra Romana veniunt, Pleuratus Scerdilaidae filius et Amynder Athamanum rex et ex Dardanis, Bato Lengari filius. Bellum suo nomine Longarus cum Demetrio, Philippi patre, gesserat. Pollicentibus auxilia respondit consul Dardanorum et Pleurati opera, cum exercitum in Macedoniam induceret, se usurum».

Balkans, and later, why their name has been retained in the administration and in the ethnographic form up to a later period, while in the religious administrative acts up to the 16th-17th century⁵. This is borne out also by the fact that the Romans entered into diplomatic agreements with them, as Titus Livy reports in the case of their offer to assist the consul Sulpicius Galba in the anti-Macedonian coalition formed by the neighbouring peoples, and on the reply of the Roman consul who «made use of the aid of the Dardanians and Pleuratus till he led his army into Macedonia⁷.

Whereas the eastern invaders either have exterminated or enslaved the conquered peoples, Rome is described as an organizing power that preserved the existing forms of social order of the conquered territories, and even accepted their religious and cultural phenomena with a view to winning them over to its side. Rome granted municipal rights to the townships and their suburbs. So, the problem of Romanization should be studied also in the light of these factors. And the question arises: was Rome interested in implementing a policy of complete Romanization in the Balkans, at a time when the Empire was rapidly falling apart, and especially when its very existence was threatened by the ceaseless attacks of the barbarians, when it needed military forces which were no longer supplied by Roman citizens, and at the time of the all-round political, social and economic crisis? Certainly not! What does the word Romanization mean; the complete merger of the endogenous population and its assimilation by the Romans⁸,

5 *History of Albania I*, Tirana 1959.

6 Liv. XXXI 28, 1.

7 Liv. XXXI 28, 2: «Pollicentibus auxilia respondit consul, Dardanorum et Pleurati opera, cum exercitum in Macedoniam induceret, se usurum».

8 K. Jireček-J. Radonić, *Istorija Srba I*, Beograd 1952, p. 22; *Die Romanen in den Städten Dalmatiens während des Mittelalters*.

or the «process of the denial of some other fundamental phenomena of the spiritual culture formed in centuries in the tradition of its territory... phenomena which were more of a social-cultural than ethnic aspect»?⁹ The Illyrians had a full experience of this kind of Romanization. However, Romanization was applied both to the coastal regions and to the hinterland of the Balkan peninsula, in the territory of the Dardanians. There is the endogenous element, the peasants, and then the «incolae» and the «peregrini» who tilled the land and made up the auxiliaries¹⁰. Therefore Romanization as an aspect of the cosmopolitan policy, is a general phenomenon throughout the territory inhabited by the tribes known as Illyrians. But its intensity could not have been equal both for the regions which had contacts with the Romans and which were the first to be subjected to their rule¹¹ and

ters in Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften philosophisch-historische Klasse XLVIII/1902/, Wien, pp. 12-13.

9 D. Rendić-Miočević, *Problem romanizacije Ilira s osobitim obzirom na kultove i onomastiku*, Simpozijum o Ilirima u antičke doba 1966, Sarajevo 1967, p. 141.; M. Suić, *Antički Nin i njegovi spomenici*, Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru 16-17/1969/Zadar, p. 65.

10 I. M. Rostowtzev, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft der Römischen Staat*, I, Leipzig 1929, pp. 190-193; II, pp. 70-105.

11 «Ciò dimostra che questa zona assai vicina all'Italia occupata fin dai primissimi tempi da truppe romane, colonizzata già da Tiberio, subito assimilò il costume romano della stele funeraria, ma anche che la romanizzazione non distrusse l'elemento indigeno che continua a vivere integro per lo meno per più di un secolo dalla conquista, pur nella progressiva acquisizione della cittadinanza romana.» M. Pavan, *La provincia romana della Pannonia Superiore*, Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, anno CCCLII-1955, Memorie Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Serie VIII, vol. VI fasc. 105, Roma 1955, pp. 481-482, esp. no. 1.

for the remote regions of the hinterland of the Balkan Peninsula.

The intensity of the Romanization of some province of the Roman Empire can be understood through two components: 1. the study of the problem of populations of the towns, and 2. the study of onomastics. Besides them, another factor must be taken into account, i.e. the differentiation between the urban centres and their close and distant neighbourhood. In spite of the reflection of urban life in the countryside, the rural life of the autochthonous elements¹² continued to develop. The Romanization of the Dardanian territory, and more extensively of the province of Moesia, compared with the impact of Romanization on important urban centres like Scup, Ulpiana, Naissus, etc., not only has been of a later period¹³, but also very superficial and narrow. This can be seen also from the existence and functioning of many «castella» and «oppida» exactly at the «pax romana» period.

According to some, the «castella» and «oppida» at that time were unnecessary¹⁴, but the Romans could not have built towns or «oppida» or «castella» if they were not needed. Such places were frequent also in Dardania, and were situated at key-points of communication on which the Romans were keenly interested¹⁵. Hence

12 M. Suić, op. cit. p. 65; D. Rendić-Miočević, Simpozijum, *Predslavenski etnički elementi na Balkanu u etnogenezi Juznih Slovena*. Mostar 1968, Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. Posebna izdanja knj. XII. Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja knj. 4 Sarajevo 1969, f. 269 (Contributions).

13 V. Parvan, *Dacia*, Bucuresti 1967, p. 139, p. 139; I. M. Rostowtzev, op. cit., I, pp. 192-196, 334-336; R. Egger, *Balkan pod Rimljanima*, in «Knjiga o Balkanu» II, Beograd 1937, p. 79.

14 A. Schober, *Die Römerzeit in Österreich und in den angrenzenden Gebieten von Slovenien*, 2. aufl. Wien 1953, p. 55; E. Neischer, *Die Römer in Gebiete der ehemaligen Österreich-Ungarn*, Wien 1923, p. 105.

the meaning of the policy «*securitatis populi romani*» for the defence of the state borders and the keeping of internal order in the Empire and the provinces.¹⁶ The practice of the transfer of population from the highlands to the lowlands in order to pacify the Empire was used commonly in the other regions of the Roman Empire, especially in zones which were centres of ceaseless uprisings and riots. The same practice that was followed with the Gallic tribes in the Iberic Peninsula was used against the Illyrian tribes in the Dardanian territory¹⁷. This explains the existence of the broad network of police stations which were more frequent in the central part of Dardania, in Zhur village in the vicinity of Prizren¹⁸, northwest of Mitrovica¹⁹, and in Kačanik²⁰. The process of the Romanization was countered with the development of definite ethnographic regions which reflect also the differentiation of the social structure of the Dardanian population. This may be clearly seen from the manner in which these regions were governed, and a certain tradition in accepting the Roman administrative system with some compromise²¹. The process of the equalization of urban life could not affect the rural zones which had a different development. This is explained with the state plans imposed on villages by the municipal

15 E. Pasalić, *Antička naselja i komunikacije u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo 1969, p. 82.

16 Hans Ulrich Istinsky, *Sicherheit als politisches Problem des römischen Kaisertums*, Baden 1952, p. 11 and ff. F. Miltner, *Römerzeit in österreichischen Landen*, Innsbruck 1948, p. 42 and ff.

17 I. M. Rostowtzev, op. cit., I, pp. 190-193.

18 *Spomenik SKA LXXI/1931*/no. 321.

19 *Spomenik SKA LXXJ*, no. 208-211.

20 CIL III, 8184, «It is probable that the reason for their existence are the riotous inhabitants of this region» N. Vulčić *Spomenik SKA LXXXI*, p. 91.

21 D. Rendić-Miočević, op. cit., p. 142.

government²². In order to win over the aristocratic strata of the endogenous population, the Romans favoured the self-governing organs of the endogenous communities known as «civitates», headed by the chief of the «princeps» of the endogenous population, even when they had not acquired the Roman rights.²³

The existence of «civitates», which were similar to many «municipia Latina»²⁴ has been proved in some places of the small territory of Dardania, mainly in Kosova. The opinion of J.A. Evans²⁵, that municipalities have existed in the Dukagjin Plateau is supported by the archaeological excavations of the 60's of our century. Settlements complete with epigraphs have been unearthed. One such characteristic urban centre of the endogenous population is found in Lower Dërsnik, in the vicinity of Klina, not far from the Drini i Bardhë River. In a beam of the door of st. Nicholas Church there is a slab with the inscription: L. Aelius Cosinus, Decurio.²⁶ Such centres have been found in the following villages: Pograxha²⁷, Studenica²⁸ and Çiflik villages. In the latter a slab which mentions a certain Decurio Aurelius Casinus²⁹ has been found. Bearing in mind what we mentioned, as well as proceeding from the concept that the development of settlements throughout Kosova has been conditioned by particular anthropo-geographic units, E. Čerskov accepts the supposition of J.A. Evans about

22 I. M. Rostowtzev, op. cit., I, pp. 158-205; II, pp. 1-69.

23 D. Rendić-Miočević, op. cit., p. 142.

24 E. Čerskov, *Rimljani na Kosovu Metohiji*, Beograd 1969, p. 37, and ff.

25 J. A. Evans, *Antiquarian researches in Illyricum*, Parts I-IV, Westminster 1883-1885, p. 167.

26 *Spomenik SKA LXXI*, no. 204.

27 *Spomenik SKKA LXXI*, no. 160.

28 *Spomenik SKA LXXV*, no. 161, *Spomenik SAN XCVIII*, no. 104.

29 E. Čerskov, op. cit., p. 85, no. 92.

the existence of a community of endogenous population with an administration of a municipal character in Lower Dërsnik. Apart from the ancient region in the area of Mushitisht, Popovljan and Sopina villages, northeast of Prizren, where many ruins of the ancient time have been unearthed and defined as belonging to this group of «civitates», there are many such places all over Kosova. However, it must be stressed that apart from some chosen individuals, who worked in the administration as decurions, the rest of the population never enjoyed any civil rights.³⁰ Therefore, the existence of these settlements with the characteristic self-governing administration confirms our point about a policy of compromise the Romans conducted in regard to the endogenous population. The Romans had recourse to this policy when Rome began to extend its territory to the detriment of its neighbours.³¹

The urbanization of the territory of Dardania was marked by ups and downs in its different phases and in different parts of Moesia Superior; there are the deductive colonies, the Canabae which sprang up round military camps of towns, and were inhabited by a civil population of foreign origin, mainly families of armymen. A similar example is Timacus Minus, the Ravne village in today's Knjaževc.³² In spite of the existence of such «civitates» Romanization was not intensive. I.M. Rostovcev³³ points out that the endogenous population was not affected by the influence of urbanization, it was left to its ancient traditions of everyday life, its autonomous organizations which extend their influence also outside

30 Ibidem, p. 40.

31 G. Luzatto, *Ekonomska povijest Italija*, I, Zagreb 1960, p. 43.

32 M. Suić, op. cit, pp. 67-68, especially, p. 65.

33 I. M. Rostowtzev, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* I, 2nd ed. Oxford 1957, p. 243.

their territorial borders. So, Dardania, in the context of the long existence of endogenous communities, that is, the existence of «civitates», has retained its peasant character in everyday life even in those zones which were attached to the towns and castles, preserving thus its customs and traditions. After the military reforms by Diocletian at the turn of the 3rd century, and by Constantine the Great at the beginning of 4th century, there can be no talk of intensive Romanization in this region. From what Eusebius says³⁴, the army did not speak Latin. This phenomenon which was manifest in Moesia Superior, of course, cannot have failed to affect Dardania. Another thing which speaks of the weak influence of Romanization in Dardania is also the stylization of stelae over the tombs, typical of the territory of Dardania. The characteristic decorative element in the central lower part of these stelae is the amphora, from which a vine branch with leaves or grapes, or the ivy branch, climbs on both sides of the stelae up to the top. Above the epigram in the middle of the slab is the niche with the figures of the persons to whom the stelae and the epigraph on it are dedicated. Above the niche, likewise in the middle, we find the rosette with palm branches on either sides. This typical stylization of the gravestones, which is found from Prizren and Peja in the west and down to Shkup in the south and in the north up to Timachus Minus. that corresponds to Naissus, is clear testimony of a tradition safeguarded intact from the influence of Romanization, and of the extension of the Dardanian ethnocultural element.

Epigraphs supply the most important material to help solve the problem of Romanization. The results and the conclusions that can be drawn on the basis of this material about the Romanization of Dardania concern the period of the 2nd and 3d century b.o.e., whereas

34 Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* IV 19; Eusebius; *Pamphili Caesareae Palaestinae episcopi*. Opera omnia quae extant, in p. XX/1857.

material for the 4th-6th centuries of o.e. is missing. This phenomenon may be explained with the fact that the population of these regions, more precisely in the territory of Moesia Superior, especially in towns and canabae, the more civilized strata of them, mixed up with the villagers, the new comers and the uneducated³⁵, and with the fact that the Catholic burial rite prevailed and the simple graveyard was replaced by big family graves on which there are various inscriptions since the time of the sevres. These kinds of graves were called Cellae memoriae.³⁶ In our analysis of this material we must bear in mind also who put up the stelae or other statues. It is known that the publicani, tenants and the officinaries lived in the mining zone, the decuriones in municipal centres; as for the beneficiaries, they mostly built altars and engraved far less epitaphs. Then it is interesting to note that we find more altars in Naissus and Ulpiana, while in Scup the statues of the decuriones are very rare³⁷. This speaks of the social structure of some region, but not its ethnic structure.

The Roman name of some individual should not lead us to the conclusion that he was Romanized or was of Roman origin³⁸, and less so that his language must have been Latin.³⁹ As A. Moscy⁴⁰ says quite rightly, the

35 R. Marić, *Stanovništvo Gornjomezijskog limesa od rimskog osvajanja* in Glas SAN CCL, X/1961/p 84.

36 A. Mocsy, *Romanisation und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior*, Budapest 1970, pp. 198-212.

37 Ibidem, p. 56; K. Patsch, *Bosna i Hercegovina u Rimsko doba*, Sarajevo 1912; pp. 28-29:

38 B. Saria, *Pozoriste u Stobima* in «Godisnjak muzeja Južne Srbije», 1/1937.

39 G. Alföldy, *Die personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg 1964, p. 17.

40 A. Mocsy, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior* in «AA Scientiarium Hungariae», XI/1959/fasc. 1-2 p. 233-297.

individuals who in inscriptions appear under proper Roman names are not Romanized endogenes, but Roman veterans or their ancestors, the peregrins. Therefore it may often happen that «some Syrian merchant, whose mother tongue is Greek, has a Latin name. So we can not say that one with a Greek name must certainly be a Greek. Hence, the linguistic appurtenance of some name must not be taken as proof of the ethnic origin of the person with that name».⁴¹ The fact that soldiers were recruited from among the peregrins since pre-Flavian time, and that «civitas romana» was not divided, or if it was so the division was quite inconsequential, must not be disregarded. It is a known fact that the division began at the time of Flavius and the Antonians, and became widespread under Trajan.⁴²

Compared with the big urban localities where foreigners have put up their monuments, the monuments unearthed in small settlements throughout Dardania con-

41 G. Alföldy, op. cit. pp. 17-18.

42 K. Kraft, *Zur Recrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau*, Bern 1951, pp. 70-100. Nevertheless, it began before Vespasian. I. M. Rostowtzev in *The Social and Economic History...* p. 240, and ff.; thinks that another cause for this provincialism of the legions was the massacre in Cremona and Rome at the time of the civil war of the year 69-70 of o.e. And since then the overwhelming majority of the legions was made up of provincial people and those from the lowest urban and peasant strata. In this respect, G. Forni in *II reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano*, Milano-Roma 1953, pp. 122-123, thinks that the provincialism of the legions began long before and did not depend on the desire of Vespasian, but in reality, on the rivalry between the praetorians and the legionaries, and then among the legions themselves, a thing which is proved by the fact that the cohorts of the praetorians, according to an urban principle, were recruited in Italy, while the legionaries in general were recruited in the provinces Gaul, Hispania and in the Balkans.

firm the presence of an endogenous population especially in the central part of Dardania, that is, in Kosova⁴³. This speaks of the weak Romanization of these regions⁴⁴. In favour of our point speaks the existence of a free peasantry in the territory of the Dardanians⁴⁵. The fact that some local names are used beyond the territory of Dardania, i.e. in those territories of the Balkans which were formerly inhabited by Illyrian tribes, is clear proof of the existence of the endogenous population in the period to which this epigraphic material belongs, that is, in the 2nd and 3rd centuries of o.e. The presence of a superficial Romanization should be related to the «Constitutio Antoniana» when Caracalla granted the right of Roman citizenship to all the inhabitants of the Roman Empire⁴⁶ in the beginning of 212 of o.e. It is precisely at this time that the local names begin to be replaced with Latin names which became fashionable in the Roman Empire.⁴⁸ From the summing up of the names found in various monuments of the Dardanian territory which we have divided in two parts, one purely Illyrian, and another non-Illyrian and of a Balkan character⁴⁹, it can be seen that the local element shrinks against the prevalence of personal names of the newcomers. This can be explained with the fact that most of the monuments were built by foreigners, the veterans, while the local population

43 A. Mocsy, op. cit., p. 200 and ff.

44 E. Cerskow, op. cit., p. 58 and ff.

45 Ibidem, p. 60.

46 K. Ritter von Czyhlar, *Lehrbuch der Institutionem des Römischen Rechtes*, 7. Aufl., Wien 1920, p. 55.

47 D. E. Garasanin, *Illyria* in «Iliri i Dacani», Narodni muzej Beograd — Istorijski muzej Transilvanije — Kluz, Beograd 1971, p. 29.

48 G. Alföldy, op. cit., p. 17.

49 Z. Mirdita, *Dardanci i Dardanija u antici*, Zagreb 1972, pp. 218-253. Disertatio-manuscript.

limited itself to epitaphs.⁵⁰ The local Dardanian-Illyrian material is richer in the Western and southwestern parts of Dardania, while in the northeast and in the eastern extremities, that is, on the border with Thracia, Thracian names⁵¹ are abundant, which does not mean that the people with these names were Thracian. Thus, the scarcity of local names shows that the Romanization of the Dardanian territory was rather superficial. However, to understand such a situation, it is necessary that the names be analysed and studied from the aspect of their extension in time and in a definite territory. From such a study we understand that many names have been characteristic of a definite time and territory, or some names in different places and in different times had different characteristics. Such a result facilitates the definition of the origin and character of some names, as Gesa Alföldy says, that if a name found in a province at a given time and definite area proves the endogenous character, then the probabilities of determining its origin increase.⁵² From what was said above and from the results of the work of many scholars who have investigated this problem, we may conclude that the Romanization, in fact, has been more than superficial.⁵³

Therefore, if we want to determine the intensity of the Romanization of the territory of Dardania on the basis of the epigraphic material, we would surely be wrong if, apart from what we said above, we fail to take into account the strong influence of Christianity⁵⁴ in the transformation of personal names. Among epigraphs, we find many cases of imperial family names, like

50 Moscy, op. cit. pp. 208-212.

51 F. Papazoglu, *Dardanska onomastika*, in Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta VIII-1/1964/, p. 49 vv.; Srednjobalkanska plemena u predrimsko doba, Sarajevo, 1969, pp. 172-185; A. Moscy, op. cit. p. 208 and ff.

52 G. Alföldy, op. cit. p. 19.

53 D. Egger, *Balkan pod Rimljanima*, in Knjiga o Balkanu, II, Beograd, 1937 p. 82.

54 D. Rendić-Miočević, op. cit., p. 151.

Claudius⁵⁵ and Ulpius⁵⁶, the bearers of which have come from the lower strata of the endogenous population, as can be seen, since the persons with such names were not decurions and that their names are accompanied with other names of an Illyrian origin. Part of this group is the name Aenus⁵⁷ etc. From this it is clear that despite the Latin names, the persons with such names, like Ulpius, Aelius and Claudius, have retained their endogenous traditions⁵⁸ in everyday life and in public relations. This is also proved by the fact that the inscriptions of the above-mentioned names have been found in the neighbourhood of urban areas. Municipalities were set up mainly to destroy the tribal organisms in definite territories, but this does not mean that the Romanization was successful,⁵⁹ because the elements of autochthonous culture, like the veil which is an ethnographic element in a broad territory of the Illyrians: in Bosnja, Macedonia (Titoveles, Kadadarc and Prilep)⁶⁰, in Sanxhak (Prije polje and Priboj)⁶¹, in the outskirts of Nish⁶² and in

55 CIL III 8184, 8205, 8209, 8211; JO XIII/1910/, n°. 218/ Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts, Wien; *Spomenik* XCVIII SAN, n°. 219.

56 CIL III 8204, 8224, 14549; *Spomenik* SKA LXXI n°. 182, 562; *Spomenik* SKA LXXV no. 212; *Spomenik* SKA LXXI n° 245, 272, 275, 276; *Spomenik* SKA LXXV no. 161; *Spomenik* SKA LXXVII no. 31, 36; *Spomenik* SAN XCVIII, no. 262.

57 *Spomenik* SKA LXXI, no. 542, 579; *Spomenik* SKA LXXV no. 156; *Spomenik* SAN XCVIII no. 435, 346; CIL, III 8221.

58 D. Rendić-Miočević, *Diskusija, Simpozijum* III, Sarajevo 1969, p. 298.

59 I. M. Rostowtzev, op. cit., pp. 242-243.

60 *Spomenik* SKA LXXI no. 59, 62, 136, 432; *Spomenik* SAN XCVIII no. 69, 73, 109.

61 *Spomenik* SKA LXXI no. 285, 316, 328, 329, 313; *Spomenik* SAN XCVIII no. 291, 292.

62 *Spomenik* SKA LXXI no. 249; *Spomenik* SAN XCVIII. no. 262.

the whole territory of Dardania, but very rarely in Dalmatia, are clear proof that the autochthonous population of Dardania existed also in the second half of the 3rd century of o.e. A woman's bust found in Klokot, in the vicinity of Vitia, in Kosova, is typical of many characteristic ethnographic elements: the veil, the big necklace with a medalion.⁶³

The social structure and the social contradictions in these territories speak of their weak Romanization. With the transformation of the relations in production to the detriment of those peasants strata which had enjoyed a more favourable position, the decline of the peasantry began, which resulted in their migrations to urban centres. The pauperization of the peasantry caused the emergence of the «highway men» (latrones) especially in Moesia Superior. This speaks of the weak influence of Romanization in these countries, and according to A. Moscy, of the «isolation of un-Romanized population from the Romanized one».⁶⁴ Hence, the scarcity of epigraphs carrying names of the endogenous population. The economic system of Dardania under the Roman Empire and the Early Byzantine Empire was based on the work of the local population. This is reflected on the «pax romana» policy, the aim of which was not complete domination over the Mediterranean basin, but the consolidation of internal peace, by granting the right to full self-admi-

63 «Although under a strong influence of Roman sculpture, these monuments have retained the essence of that naive dogmatic realism so typical of the creativeness of the endogenous population of our country in the period of antiquity.» E. Čerškov, *Antička bista zene iz Klokota*, in Glasnik Muzeja Kosova i Metohije, III, 1958, Priština, p. 192.

64 «Die Ursache der Unruhen lagen gewiss in den Spannungen einzelner Bevölkerungsgruppen; es liegt an der Hand, an die erwähnte Isolierung der unromanisierten Bevölkerung von der romanisierten zu denken.» A. Mocsy, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte...*, p. 306.

nistration to the tribal communities, the peasants of which were the main source of agricultural and handicrafts products, a thing which shows that the Dardanian autochthonous population preserved itself. The economy of the Late Antiquity supplies convincing proofs of the existence of the autochthonous elements, like free peasants (*incolae*) and the pauperized strata.⁶⁵ The rescripts of emperors Valentinian I, Gratian and Valens⁶⁶ speak of the role of the autochthonous element in the economy of these regions.

From what we said we may conclude that Romanization was not a factor of the assimilation the endogenous population in the territory of Dardania. Even those Roman place names which have been used up till recently, and which have outlived the Roman Empire, do not necessarily prove the existence of a Romanized population. And, lastly, foreign names prove only the influence of foreign cultures.

65 I. M. Rostowtzev, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-243. *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft I*, p. 192 and ff. p. 334.

66 *Cod. Just.* IV 41, 1-2, 63, 2; XI 53.1/. *Corpus juris Civilis*, vol. I, ed. XVI *Lucis ope. expressa*, *Codex Justinianus*, *recognovit et retractavit* P. Krueger, Berolini 1954; vol. III ed. *lucis ope expressa. Novellae*, *recognovit* R. Scheel et *opus Schoeli morte interceptum absolvit* G. Kroll, Berolini 1954.

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Paris

«HAVE THE ALBANIANS OCCUPIED KOSOVA?»*

After the recent grave events in Kosova, it is difficult to analyse this problem in all the intellectual seriousness demanded of an historian, furthermore, since from that time the press carries articles in support of the «Serbian thesis», which is regarded as quite a logical thesis, therefore any voice in opposition remains isolated and seems to be inspired by an «Albanophily», which is a priori considered doubtful.

Let us make ourselves clear: There is no solid argument today to determine the nationality of this or that region, especially in the Balkans, except the existence there of a recognized national majority. In this sense Kosova, which is inhabited by a population two thirds of which is Albanian, of course could not be considered otherwise but Albanian, and this without

* First published in magazine «L'Albanie», vol. 2, no. 13, June 1981, p. 10.

the slightest idea uniting it with the political entity called «Albania».

Seeing the insistent use of the historical facts to prove that the Serbians have a «right» to Kosova, since they are the oldest inhabitants who were allegedly driven out by Albanians later, it would be not out of place to demonstrate that in this case, at least, history and the present situation coincide.

In a recent article Michel Aubin points out that Kosova has been the «economic and political centre of the Serbian mediaeval kingdom in the 13th and 14th centuries»¹, which is true. So, it seems that it is only the Turkish occupation, which, after driving the Serbs out of the best lands, finally forced them, especially in 1690 and 1738, to emigrate towards South Hungary and substituted them with Islamized elements brought over from the North Albania.

Let us not insist on the fact that the establishment of a centre of political and economic power on a certain territory is by no means a guarantee, particularly in the Middle Ages, for the ethnic predomination of those who have political power. Thus, the small «Serbian» despotate of Seres in Northern Greece managed to rule from 1345 to 1371 a population the overwhelming majority of which was Greek²...

Nevertheless, let us agree that the Serbs were the majority in Kosova in the 13th century. But then the question arises: who lived in this region previously? It is known that the Slavs are an Indo-European people

1 Michel Aubin, *Dy mythe serbe au nationalisme albanais*, «Le monde» 5-6 April 1981, p. 2.

2 Georges Ostrogorski, *Serska Oblast posle Dušanove smrti* (Serest region after the death of Dušan), Beograd 1965.

3 On Serbs, in particular, H. Gregoire, *The Origin and the Name of the Croats and the Serbs*, «Bizantin», 17, 1945 and S. Novaković, *Srpske Oblasti X, XI veka* (Serbian territories in the X-XI centuries) «Glasnik Srpskog društva», p. 48, 1880.

who came to Europe at a later period, since the frequent waves of their invasions occurred in the 6th and 7th centuries³. It is known also that at this time many centuries of Romanization had failed to liquidate the old autochthonous people: the Dacians in Romania, the Thracians in Bulgaria, the Illyrians in Dalmatia, Albania and Macedonia. As for Kosova, it is an undeniable fact that at least from the 18th century b.o.e. many Illyrian political formations emerged which gradually passed from the tribal stage to small real kingdoms like the Dardanians, the Penestes, the Paeonians (to mention only the most important)⁴. However the aim of all the recent studies, both linguistic and archaeological, is to prove that the Illyrians are certainly the direct ancestors of the Albanians⁵. As regards archaeology, the study of ceramics and ornaments (earrings, bracelets, rings and especially pins) testifies to a strange continuity in the forms and technology between the ancient Illyrian and the new artifacts discovered in the Mediaeval settlements which may be dated to the 6th and 7th centuries of o.e. (the Dalmaca castle in the vicinity of Puka, and especially Kruja); this is so true that the Yugoslav archaeologist B. Cović has dated the material found in Dalmaca castle to the 6th-7th centuries of o.e.⁶. How-

4 Bibliography on the Illyrians is considerable. Suffice it to mention the archaeological collection «Illyria» (6 published volumes, Tirana 1971-1976); «*The Illyrians and the Genesis of the Albanians*, Tirana 1971 and *The Acts of the conference of Illyrian Studies*», two volumes, Tirana 1974.

5 S. Anamali and M. Korkuti, *The Illyrians and the Genesis of the Albanians in the Light of Albanian Archaeological Studies*, in the collection of the same title, pp. 11-39; regarding linguistic data, E. Çabej, *The Illyrians and the Albanians*, in the same volume, pp. 41-52.

6 B. Čović Osnovne Karakteristike materialne ilira na njihovom centralnom prodrucju, «Sarajevo Simposium», 1964, p. 101.

ever, we must remember that the excavations in the Dalmaca castle began in the last century and that all agreed then that they were testimony of the «old Slavonic civilization»⁷. Of course this Illyrian-Albanian continuity is not proved only in the present-day territory of Albania. The finds in the necropolis of Melje in the vicinity of Virpazar (Montenegro), and in two settlements in Ohri zone in Macedonia have brought to light objects belonging to the same civilization⁸. Of course, the intensive activity of Albanian archaeologists from Liberation is the only one to be taken into consideration to explain the very rich finds unearthed in their national territory.

Lacking any document which would prove the liquidation or the emigration of the local Illyrian population in the course of Slavonic invasions, it is quite natural to think that during the Late Middle Ages Kosova, like the all of Albania has had mainly an Illyrian population, that is, Albanians. No doubt a phenomenon of Slavization is noted and this is best shown by place names, which have little value in determining the ethnic character of a people. In spite of the great number of Slavonic toponyms found in Albania at present, no one can ever think that the majority of its population was Slav. Indeed, such an argument would never serve the advocates of the «Serbian thesis», the more so since most of the Slavonic toponyms in Kosova and Albania seem to be more Bulgarian than Serbian, a thing which is quite natural since the Bulgarians occupied this zone since the 9th century and especially at the end of the 10th century at the height of the last Bulgarian Empire,

S. Anamali and M. Korkuti, *The Illyrians and the genesis of the Albanians*, p. 35.

7 S. Anamali, *From the Albanian Civilization of the Early Middle Ages*, «Illyrians...» pp. 184-187.

8 Ibidem, p. 185, 192.

with Ohri as its capital⁹. At that time the Serbs were situated far from Kosova, in fact in the 9th-10th centuries their first compact formations were Rasha (Rascia) in the Ibar valley, west of Morava, and Zeta which corresponds broadly to present-day Montenegro. It is precisely when prince Stefan became king in 1217 that the Serbian state began to expand and included the zone of Peja (Peç), while the main body of Kosova territories remained outside its borders. It is unnecessary to dwell any longer on this since any «historical» argument does nothing other than refute the «Serbian» theses and history and points out that the Serbs, in regard to Kosova, are very late comers.

Did the Serbian domination wipe out the ancient Illyrian-Albanian population? In fact the Serbian texts say the opposite: on the occasion when in 1348, Stefan Dušan made a present to the monastery of Saint Mihal and Gavril of Prizren, we learn that in the vicinity of that town there were at least 9 villages described as Albanian (*arbanas*)¹⁰. The famous code proclaimed by the same sovereign one year later shows that in many villages under his rule, besides the Slavonic population there were Wallachian and Albanian elements, which must have been very dynamic since the Tsar was obliged to restrict their settlement on his lands¹¹. If the Wallachians and the Albanians come to be called nomads, this is surely not only because they were «shepherds from birth», but merely because of the economic and political pressure put on by the ruling people. This was happening since 1328 in the regions of Diabolis, Kolonea

9 A. M. Selishchev, *Slavjansko naselenie v Albani*, Sofia 1931, to be carefully studied because of his great Bulgarophil prejudice.

10 S. Novaković, *Zakoni spomenici srpskih država srednjega veka* (Juridical sources of the Serbian state in the Middle Ages), Beograd 1912, pp. 628-701.

11 See, in particular, chapters 77 and 82 of the Dušan code (N. Radojčić, *Zakonik Cara Stefana Dušana*, Beograd 1960, pp. 57-58).

and Ohri where J. Kantakuzen speaks of the meeting of the Byzantine Emperor Andronicus III with the «nomadic Albanians» of Central Macedonia¹². No doubt, the Serbian rule was heavy on the Albanian subjects. Allowing for the obvious propaganda aims of the author, there is certainly some truth in what Guillaume D'Adam writes: «... these people, both Latin and Albanian, are under the unbearable and very grave yoke of the prince of the Slavs, whom they despise and hate heartily because they are burdened with heavy taxes, their clergymen are treated scornfully, their bishops and priests are often bound in chains, their noblemen expropriated... All of them together and individually, thought that they would sanctify their hands if they stained them with the blood of the above-mentioned Slavs.»¹³

We must add that the Byzantine authors are very sensitive about the unity of the people from Albania to Macedonia; the historian, Laonikos Chalkokondylis of the 15th century, after stressing that the Albanians of his time are quite different from the Serbs and the Bosnians,¹⁴ says that no other people resembles the Macedonians more than the Albanians¹⁵.

In these conditions the Turkish occupation began in the second half of the 15th century and it is true that at this juncture the Albanians affirmed themselves again in Kosova, but, of course, not in the way the question is usually presented. The Albanians were not forced there by the enemy, on the contrary, from the Shkoder Lake up to Kosova they united and resisted together with the other Christian peoples.

At the time of the decisive battle of 1389, the Greek

12 J. Kantakuzen, *Histoire*, Ed. de Bonn I, p. 55, vol. I, p. 279.

13 Bokardus, *Directorium and passagium faciendum*, «Historians of the Crusades-Armenian Historians, II, pp. 484-485.

14 Daonikos Chalkokondlis, *Histoire*, Ed. E. Darko, Budapest 1922-1926, I, pp. 23-24.

15 Ibidem, II, pp. 277-278.

authors mention, apart from the Serbs and the Bulgarians, also, the Albanians of the North, those of Himara, Epirus and the coastal zone¹⁶. Whereas the Turkish chronicler, Idriz Bitlis, mentions the participation of the Albanians of the Shkodra region, whose prince, Gjergj Basha, led 50 000 men in the battle¹⁷; the same data are provided by the other Ottoman chroniclers, Ali and Hoxha Sadedin¹⁸.

The defeat of 1389 totally disorganized the Serbian state and left a free field of action to the most powerful local princes, including the Albanian princes of the north and the northeast. The most distinguished among them was Gjon Kastrioti, Skanderbeg's father who from an original ruler of the mountainous region of Mat extended his principality from the mouth of the Ishëm River up to Prizren, at the centre of Kosova. In 1420 he granted Ragusa the privilege of access to «his lands in Prizren»¹⁹ for trade. This new Albanian state brought about the development of a class of merchants from a population which theretofore had been discouraged from this pursuit. The archives of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) show that a number of Albanian merchants of Ragusa voluntarily stayed in Kosova. This is proved by a letter which the Republic of Ragusa sent Marco de Tani in Prishtina²⁰, in March 1428, after the Kastriotis had submitted to the Turks, and again in the same year we find in Prishtina the other Albanian merchant Kino Mati de Tani²¹.

16 Hierax, *Chronique sur l'empire des Turcs*, Sathas; Biblioteca greca, I, p. 247.

17 Idrizi Bitlisi, *Chronique sur l'empire des Turcs*, fols. 188-189 a) in S. Pulaha, *The Albanian-Turkish War of the 15th Century* (Ottoman sources), Tirana 1968, pp. 134-138, 142.

18 S. Pulaha, op. cit., pp. 251-252 and 297.

19 Published by Radonić, *Gjuragj Kastriot Skanderbeg i Arbanija u XV veku*, Beograd 1942.

20 The archives of the state of Dubrovnik «Litterae et Commissiones Levantis», X, p. 84 (March 17, 1428).

21 Ibidem, XIII, p. 248 (January 5, 1448).

Therefore there is no reason to think that at this stage of their conquests the Ottomans relied especially on the Albanians to oppose the Slavs. It is not futile to recall that the Albanians were then Christians like the Serbs and were not in any way ready to submit to the Ottomans. If this is the place to speak of the deed of Skënderbeg, who carried out some of his actions on the borders of Kosova, we shall mention that the Byzantine historian Dukas, in the middle of the 15th century, presents as the main reason of the Turkish triumph the reduction of the number of Albanians from Dalmatia to Thracia²². Whereas the Turkish chronicles mention the Albanian uprisings in Kosova, especially those of 1477, when the «rebels» plundered the herds of cattle in the region of Tetova under the leadership of a «traitor» by the name of Skënder²³.

Thus, it is clear that a great Albanian population was living in Kosova even before the Turkish occupation and it is superfluous to explain this fact by supposing an outburst of mass migrations on which no sources are available. Indeed, the fact that no mention is made of clashes between the Albanians and the Slavs at the time of Tsar Dušan, and the more so during the time of the creation of the principality of Kastrioti, proves that the «Albanian state» extended gradually and was welcome by the local people in general, because there were many Albanian elements among them. Despite the new information provided by the Ottoman cadastral registers recently put at our disposal, it is virtually impossible to determine the relative number of Albanians in relation to that of the Slavs in Kosova in the 15th century. The best example in this direction is the publication in 1974, by Selami Pulaha, of the register of the Shkodra Sandjak

22 Dukas, *Istoria Turko-Byzantina*, XXIII, 8, Ed. Grecu, Bucarest 1958, p. 179.

23 Kemalpasazade, *Chronique*, p. 254, Pulaha, op. cit., p. 191.

of 1485, which covers the region of Shkodra, Peja, Podgorica (Titograd) and Bihor²⁴.

First of all, we must stress the extraordinary objectivity with which S. Pulaha treats the rich toponymy and anthroponymy supplied by this source; it is good to repeat together with him that it is quite ordinary for an Albanian to have a Slav name, and vice-versa a Slav or Albanian toponym does not determine the nature of the population under discussion²⁵. However, it is certain that the common use of a double toponym and anthroponym testifies to an ethnic mixture, the component elements of which may be determined according to regions. In the Shkodra Sandjak (which included the entire zone of Peja), S. Pulaha distinguishes three entities in which the Albanian element is represented in various degrees: the region of Shkodra where the Albanians make up the overwhelming majority, the region of Piper, Shestan, Altunili, where an equilibrium seems to have been established between the two populations; the zone of Peja where the Albanians constitute a considerable minority²⁶ and where a good number of villages have a Slavonic name, but in reality the majority of the population is Albanian.²⁷ The main conclusion is that such mixture of the two elements would be quite unimaginable if one of these elements would have been recently established in this zone; the Ottoman register of Shkodra shows that the Albanians constitute a very old component of the local population, especially in the region of Peja and, apart from others, since we lack information about any massive migration of Albanians towards Kosova before the 16th century, we are induced to think that a considerable part of the Albanian element of Kosova had its roots in the ancient Illyrian-Albanian population living

24 S. Pulaha, *The Cadastral Register of the Shkodra Sandjak of 1458*, vol. 2, Tirana 1974.

25 S. Pulaha, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

26 *Ibidem*, *op. cit.* p. 33-34.

27 *Id. op. cit.* p. 34, counts 15 villages in this case.

there from Antiquity.²⁸ As for the other part of Kosova, there is still much to be done, but it must be made known that a very old cadastral register including also the central Kosova (Vilkili) has been preserved. From this register of 1455, the Bosnja historian, A. Haznič, draws precisely the same conclusions; the very particular mixture of the two peoples implies the permanence of the old Albanian substratum.²⁹

It must be added that this Albanian element was consolidated from the beginning of the 15th century with the «economic» immigration to the zone of mineral resources, especially the rich silver mines of Srbrenica and Novo Brdo. These Albanians, nearly all Christians, are masters who emigrated first towards Ragusa from Northern coastal Albania (Tivar, Shkodra) and from the mountainous zones (Mat)³⁰. However, these masters have been established in Kosova for many generations, as is the case with Peter Gonović (from Prishtina)³¹, of Johanes Prognović from Novomonte (Novo Brdo), and, apparently, of many others³². It is not without interest to point out

28 S. Pulaha, op. cit. pp. 34-35. It must be noted that this is the conclusion of the great Yugoslav historian, Milan Šufflay, killed in 1925 by the Serbs. (M. Šuffly, *Povijest sjevernih arbanasa*, reprinted in Prishtina, 1968, pp. 61-62.)

29 A. Hanžić, *Nekoliko vijesti o arbanasima na Kosovu i Metohiji v sredinome XV vijeka* (some data on the Albanians of Kosova and Metohija in the middle of the 15th century); «Symposium on Skanderbeg», Prishtina 1969, pp. 201-209; S. Pulaha, *Albanian Element according to the Onomastics of the Regions of the Shkodra Sandjak in the Years 1485-1582*, «Historical Studies» 1972, I, p. 63.

30 Consult, especially, the documents supplied by M. Dinić taken from the state archives of Dubrovnik, and particularly *Livre de Comptes* by Mihail Dukarević.

31 M. Dinić, op. cit., p. 68.

32 Ibidem, also the state archives of Dubrovnik, *Pacta Matrimonalia*, II, p. 103, (December 11, 1459).

that this emigration of the Catholic Albanians, attracted by the possibility of working in the mines, continues well into the 17th century and according to reports by some envoys of the Pope to that region³³, resulted in their settlement in Novo Brdo, Gjakova, Prishtina, Trepça.

As a conclusion it emerges that in Kosova, it is certainly the Slavs or the Slavonized peoples, the Bulgarians and then the Serbs those who, beginning from the 7th century, occupied a region the population of which was virtually Illyrian-Albanian from Antiquity. With the settlement of Slavs and the Slavization of part of the local population at the beginning of the 15th century, Kosova was made their main political and economic centre. As we pointed out it is impossible to determine how the two elements stood in relation to one another, how they managed to co-exist without major problems. The Ottoman occupation, the gradual weakening of Serbia and, at the same time, the internal reaction and the influx of peaceful immigration of Christian Albanians from the North of Albania resulted in the continuous increase of the Albanian element in Kosova. Still many studies must be carried out to affirm this, but there is a great possibility that, even before the emigrations of 1690 and 1738, the Albanians constituted a *big minority in Kosova*, if not the majority of the population. It would be a mistake to forget that the Serbs were not the only ones to depart from the erstwhile Islamized zones. At the time of the great Serb emigration of the period 1737-1738 some thousands of Christian Albanians abandoned the mountainous regions of Shkodra to settle round Karlovac, in Croatia, where the Austrian government used them to achieve its policy of military colonization, thus these «Kelmendis», as they are called in the Austrian

33 I. Zamputi, *Reports on the Situation of Northern and Central Albania in the 17th Century*, volume I (1610-1634), Tirana 1968, and the report of apostolic visitor Pjetër Mazreku in 1623-1624.

texts, found themselves in close contacts with Serbian elements who had emigrated in the same period and settled in the same manner. They would preserve their traditions and language up to 1910, the date when their Slavonization³⁴ was completed.

«Deslavization» of Kosova is thus a fictitious problem: it is only a result of the major movements which have always characterized the history of the Balkan peoples. Based on an ancient substratum that remained Albanian, this movement developed peacefully throughout the Middle Ages and in the beginning of modern times. Thus, the events of 1690 and 1738 must be considered only as its final act. Of course, this centuries-old movement has nothing to do with the big projects of the Yugoslav government which, between the two wars, tried to combine the division of Albania with fascist Italy with the mass expulsion of Albanians to Turkey³⁵.

34 L. Von Thalloczy, *Die albanische diaspora*, «Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen» (Vienna 1916), vol. 1, p. 314, v. This article is based on, apart from the archives of Karlovač's metropolis, the *Archiv des Gemeinsamen Finanzministeriums*, Vienna especially, VI, p. 25, 1739.

35 This is what we conclude from the report of Cubrilović, *The expulsion of Albanians* written in 1937, which envisaged a mass transfer of the Kosovar people to Turkey. These problems (especially, the report written on this problem in 1939 by Ivo Andrić, and the scale of the Albanian emigration to Turkey between two wars) are dealt with cf. by M. Roux, *Language and the State Power in Yugoslavia*. The case of the Albanians, «Pluriel», Paris 22, 1980.

THE TERRITORIES OF THE ALBANIANS IN THE XVth CENTURY*

The problem of the geographic territory occupied by the Albanians in the century of their great liberation struggle led by Gjergj Kastrioti Scanderbeg has been very little dealt with as an independent problem by the historians. Usually their attention has been drawn more by the problem of the extension of the name *Arbanon*, *Arbanum*, *Raban*, *Arbania* or *Albanon*, *Albanum*, *Albania* during the Middle Ages. However the results of their studies on both problems have not been satisfactory. There are two main reasons for this: on one hand, the great lack of archival and literary sources on Albania and the Albanians; on the other hand, the incorrect methodological criteria used in the majority of cases. The documentary material which would have helped an advancement of it has not been enriched for some years. At the present stage of study new methodological criteria are necessary to advance this problem. These criteria

* Taken from the «Second Conference of Albanological Studies», (12-18 January 1968), I, Tirana 1969, pp. 109-119.

will enable us not only to define, no matter how approximately, the geographical area occupied by Albanians in the XVth century, but also to bring to light, at least in general outline, the process of the consolidation of the national consciousness of the Albanian people's masses in the century of their epic war with the Ottoman invaders.

The view put forward jointly by L. Thalloczy and K. Jireček in 1899 and expounded in more detail by their collaborator M. Šufflay in 1913 can be said to prevail in the field of historical studies. According to this view, the ethnic-geographical borders of Albania in the century of Skanderbeg lay more or less within the quadrangle Tivar-Prizren-Ohër-Vlora since the name Albanon, Albanum¹ Albania, was used only in the area comprised within this quadrangle.

This means that the present-day Albanian regions which fall outside this hypothetical quadrangle in the XVth century, were not part of the Homeland of the Albanians, since in the archival and literary sources of that period they do not appear under this geographical appellation. As can be seen the above three students of the Middle Ages are of the opinion that the name Albanon, Albania was an ethnic-geographical notion in the Middle Ages and represented the territorial extension of the Albanians in that time. So in treating the problem of the Mediaeval ethnos they have proceeded from the modern concept of nationality. This is wrong methodologically. Only if we take account of the concept of nationality of the Mediaeval authors of archival and literary

¹ L. Thalloczy — K. Jireček, *Zwei Urkunden aus Nordalbanien*, in *Archiv für Slawische Philologie* 21 (1899), p. 88, republished in «*Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen*», München und Leipzig 1916, vol. 1, p. 126, to which we shall refer; M. Šufflay, *Die Grenzen Albaniens im Mittelalter*, in *Prester Lloyd* 60 (13 April, 1913), republished in «*Illyr.-Alb. Forschungen*» 1, 290, to which we shall refer.

documents and we bear in mind that in the course of the Middle Ages this concept, like any other ideological concept underwent a historical evolution, can we achieve a correct approach to these problems.

There were two principal components of the nationality for the writers and chancellors of the early Middle Ages: the political and religious community. The linguistic, ethnographic, historical and anthropological distinctions of different populations living in the same political and religious community carried no weight for them. All those subject to the Byzantine Empire which ruled by means of its state power and the authority of the oecumenical church of Constantinople were neither Hellens, nor Illyrians nor Thracians but only Romans («Romaioi») for the Byzantines and Greeks («Graeci») for the Latins. Likewise the Slav and non-Slav subjects of the Bulgarian Empire and, as Christians, of the Patriarchy of Ohër were considered Bulgarians («Bulgari») by the Easterners and the Westerners alike. This means in fact that behind the names «Romans» and «Bulgarians» which are mentioned in the historical sources of the early Middle Ages as participants in the political and military events in the territory of Albania in the VIII-XI centuries do not necessarily hide only the Mediaeval Hellens or Bulgarians but also the Illyrians or Mediaeval Albanians who are not mentioned by their ethnic names since they had no independent community of their own either political or religious. The conclusion of some historians from J. G. Hahn² to G. Stadtmüller³ that during the Early Middle Ages the New Epirus was inhabited only by a Bulgarian population, as the Albanians are not mentioned in the events that happened there, cannot be accepted as correct.

2 J. G. Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, Jena 1854, p. 311.

3 G. Stadtmüller, *Forschungen zur albanischen Frühgeschichte*, in «Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis», Budapest VII (1941), p. 162.

The Albanians are mentioned for the first time by their ethnic name of *Albanoi* and *Arbanitai* in the work of the Byzantine historian of the XIth century, M. Attaleiates, as participants in the uprisings of Georgios Maniakes, which broke out in 1043 and spread partially to the territory of Albania⁴. The reason why the Albanians are mentioned for the first time in 1043 and not earlier must be sought mainly in the concept of nationality of the Mediaeval writers and chancellors. M. Attaleiates shows this indirectly when, describing the uprising of 1043, he says that the Albanians and the Latins up till recently were equal subjects of the Empire and had the same religion as the Byzantines but then became fierce enemies⁵. This means that in 1043 the Albanians, the inhabitants of the region of Albanon, Arbanon, were neither subjects of Byzantium nor Orthodox christians. Thus they had neither of the two components of nationality in common with the Byzantines. As such they could not be called any more «romaios».

According to information provided again by A. Attaleiates, in 1043 the Albanians had a leader who emerged from among their ranks and military units separate from those of the Byzantines. This is not accidental. In 1078 we find again Albanian military units⁶. Likewise in 1081⁷. According to Anna Comnena, in 1081 the leader of the Albanians held the title of «komeskortēs». Besides it appears he wielded political power independent from Constantinople since the Byzantine emperor Alexis Comnenus entered an agreement with him in the same way he did with the autonomous princes of Duklja and Dalmatia to fight jointly as allies against the Norman armies⁸. If we

4 M. Attaleiates (ed. Bonn 1853), p. 9.9; 18, 17; 297, 21.

5 M. Attaleiates, p. 9.9.

6 M. Attaleiates, p. 297, 21, J. Skylitzes (in G. Kedrenos, ed. Bonn 1839), II, p. 739.9.

7 Anna Comnena (ed. Leipzig 1884) IV, p. 8; VI, p. 7.

8 Anna Comnena, IV, p. 8; VI, p. 7.

take into consideration the fact that during these decades the Byzantine Empire was undergoing a deep political crisis and that the religious dioceses of the Northwestern Albania were one after another lining up with the Catholic Rome, then the information provided by M. Attaleiates brings us to a new conclusion, namely, that feudal lords of Arbanon had become independent from the Byzantine rule and the Eastern Church prior to 1043 and set up like the neighbouring feudal lords of Duklja an independent state formation. So they had formed at least an independent political, if not religious, community. Consequently, a particular ethnic name was needed for it. This is how the appellation *Albanoi* with a historical background (derived from the name of our ancestors) and the appellation *arbanitai* with an ethnographic character derived from the name of the region they lived in emerged in the historical sources. This appellation was attributed only to the members of the political and religious community in the region of Arbanon, while the other inhabitants of the Albanian speaking territory continued to be called according to the political-religious community of which they were part: Romaioi, Boulgaroi, Sklavinoi by the Byzantines, or Graeci, Bulgari, Sclavini by the Latins.

Arbanon was initially the name of a very narrow region — the territory round Kruja, which up till recent times preserved the historical name *Arbëni*. So it was like the names of the other regions of the country *Polati* (Pulti) *Kunavia* (Martanesh) *Crnika* (Çermenika) *Trajen-dena* (Mirdita), *Matia*, *Skuria*, *Tamadea*, *Benda*, *Mokra*, etc. The territory of Arbanon was also a religious diocese, which was called after the name of its centre — the bishopric of Kruja, set up, according to tradition, at the turn of the VII century.⁹ It bordered on the bishopric of Lissus which extended to Mat and Mirdita, and on the bishopric of Stefaniaka which included the regions of

⁹ AAIB, I, p. 48.

Tamadhea and Benda¹⁰ When these regions passed over to the jurisdiction of Rome the three bishoprics merged into one single Catholic diocese called the diocese of Arbanon, *diocesis arbanensis*¹¹. In 1166 Arbanon had a prior (*Andreas prior Arbanensis*) and a bishop (*Lazarus episcopus Arbanensis*)¹². The title «prior» of the governor indicates the autonomy of the region, the title of the head of the diocese defines its borders. Together they show that the consolidation and the extension of the name *Arbanon* for the territory and the name *Arbanites* for its inhabitants came about as a result of the consolidation and extension of the political and religious community of Arbanon, formed in the preceding century.

This is evident especially during the existence of the Principality of Arbënia which appears in the historical sources of the end of the XIIth Century. During the rule of Archon Progon the name of Arbanon extended to the northern region of Pulti.¹³ Likewise during the rule of the Great Archon Demetrius it extended to Kumanavia and Cërnik in the south down to the Shkumbin Valley.¹⁴ The extension of this denomination beyond the borders of the historical Arbanon may be due to the inclusion of these regions in the political and religious community of the state of the Arbanites.

This phenomenon is noticed also during the second half of the XIII Century when Charles I Anjou set up a unified political formation with all the conquered lands in Albania — the «Kingdom of Albania» (*Regnum Albaniae*) on a territory larger than the Principality of Arbanon in the time of the Great Archon Demetrius. In

10 H. Gelzer, *Ungedruckte und wenig bekannte Bistümer der orientalischen Kirche*, in «Byzantinische Zeitschrift», Erster Band, II Heft, Leipzig 1892.

11 AAlb, I, p. 116.

12 AAlb, I, p. 93.

13 S. Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici*, Beograd 1912, p. 384.

14 G. Akropolites (ed. Leipzig 1903), XIV, p. 28.

this time the Anjou King forced the religious dioceses of the conquered territories to accept the supremacy of the Catholic church. Although the «Kingdom of Albania» was the offspring of the armed violence of the Anjou feudal lords, for the writers and chancellors of the XIIIth Century it formed an autonomous political and religious community. In conformity with the Mediaeval mentality the catholic inhabitants of this political community were considered members of the *Arbanite Albanite* nationality. As a result the name of *Albanum*, *Albania* extended to all the territories within the borders of this state — from the Mat River in the North to Kanina in the South, from the shores of the Adriatic in the West to the Black Drin River in the East. The non-catholic inhabitants of the kingdom were excluded from this *Arbanite, Albanite* nationality. Irrespective of his mother tongue, the Orthodox inhabitant was, due to a centuries old tradition, «Romaïos» for the Byzantines, and «Craecus» for the Anjous. When Charles I Anjou wrote, «our Greek enemies»¹⁵ he meant the Byzantines. But when in 1274 he wrote that Durrës had been besieged by the «Albanites and Greeks» (*albanenses et greci*)¹⁶ by these appellations he meant the Catholic and Orthodox Albanians since there is no historic proof of the existence of a Greek-speaking community in the Durrës region. In the beginning of the XIV century *Arbanite, Albanite* meant always the catholic Albanian.¹⁷

From the XIII century on the first signs began to appear among the circles of learned Byzantines of the Nicean Empire of a new concept of nationality, not determined as before by political and religious allegiance, but by language and religion. As a result of this new

¹⁵ AAlb, I, p. 349.

¹⁶ AAlb, I, p. 330, 332, 334.

¹⁷ Ch. Kohler, *Recueil des historiens des Croisades*, Paris 1906, vol. II, p. 487.

concept, «the Hellene», the Greek-speaking¹⁸ Byzantine Orthodox subject began to be distinguished from the «Romaïos» nationality. With the further development of this concept, the Orthodox Albanian began to be distinguished from the orthodox Hellene as belonging to a different speaking community. On the other hand, however, the Orthodox Albanian was still separated from the Catholic Albanian since he belonged to a different religious community. Thus the terrain was prepared for the emergence of a common name for all the Orthodox Albanians. This new concept was first expressed by the Byzantine writer of the XIV century, G. Pachymeres who, when speaking of the inhabitants of the New Epirus, uses in one case the name Albanite,¹⁹ in another case the name Illyrian.²⁰ Later on the name Epirotes came to be used as against the Albanites. In some cases, instead of the name Epirotes, which had an ancient historical sounding, the name *Albanite* was replaced with that of the *Macedonian*, which had also an ancient historical sounding in analogy with it the name *Macedonia* became the second name for Albania (*Maccedoniam sive Albaniam*).²¹ In this way the inhabitants of the Albanian-speaking territory were called by foreigners *Epirotes and Albanites*, *Epirotes et Albanenses* or *Epirotes and Macedonians*, *Epyrote et Macedones*.²²

However the two separate ethnic denominations for the Albanians of the two different religions did not assume a clearcut form as was the case with the southern Slavs between the Catholic Croat and the Orthodox serb. No

18 V. Tapkova-Zaimova, *L'idée byzantine de l'unité du monde et l'Etat Bulgare*, in «Résumés des Communications Ier Congrès Int. Et. du S.E. Européen», Sofia 1966, p. 228.

19 G. Pachymeres (ed. Bonn), vol. 7.

20 G. Pachymeres VI, p. 32.

21 J. Radonić *Gjuragj Kastrioti-Skanderbeg*, Beograd 1942, p. 129.

22 J. Radonić, p. 129.

doubt a special role in this respect has been played by the fact that there was no separate political-religious community in the regions inhabited by the Orthodox Albanians as against the political-religious community of the Arbanites. However, as M. Šufflay has rightly observed the main reason must be sought in the fact that «in the Middle Ages there was hardly any trace of religious fanaticism among the Albanians»,²³ hence the inhabitants of the Albanian-speaking territory did not differ from the ethnic point of view from their countrymen of different religion. Thus the forerunners of the modern concept of nationality, the concept which disregards religious differences in the language communities, gave a single ethnic denomination to all Albanians. The first documents in this direction are provided by the Byzantine writers. However, the choice of a common name was not unanimously accepted initially. The archaic tendency of some scholars seems to have influenced the writer of the XIVth Century, N. Gregoras, since he called the Albanian Illyrians.²⁴ However, his contemporary, J. Kantakuzenos was not of the same opinion; he called them Albanites because, according to him, the Tribals (Serbs)²⁵ were the descendants of the Illyrians. In the XV century they were called Albanites by Chalcocondylas²⁶, Dukas²⁷ and Sfrantzes²⁸ while Christoboulos called them Illyrians.²⁹

However, the new concept of nationality did not

23 M. Šufflay, *Die Kirchenzustände im vortürkischen Albanien*, in «Illyr. — Alb. Forschungen», I, p. 190.

24 N. Gregoras (ed. Bonn) V, 6; XI, 6.

25 J. Kantakuzenos (ed. Bonn) IV, 43.

26 L. Chalcocondylas (in K. Bozhori, *The Albanian-Turkish War in the XV Century* — Byzantine sources, Tirana 1967, I, pp. 23, 24, 196-198, II, pp. 16, 123, 277, 278.

27 Dukas (in K. Bozhori) XV, 2, XXIII, 8, XLV, 2.

28 G. Sfrantzes (in K. Bozhori) I, 27, 31, IV, 14, 22.

29 Christoboulos of Imbros (in K. Bozhori), I, 14, 74, III, 1, 16;

triumph completely during the XV century, either. There were still writers or chancellors, mainly in the Western world who followed the linguistic-religious concept. Unable to abandon their traditional Mediaeval concepts they could not regard a people speaking the same language, living in the same territory but belonging to two different religions as members of the same nationality. So in some foreign acts of the XV century there is still mention of *Albanites* and *Epirotes*, of *Macedonians and Epirotes*, as if they were of two different nationalities.³⁰

These two denominations had the same ethnic meaning for the Albanians. They called themselves both *Arbanites* and *Epirotes*. Skanderbeg provides the first testimony to this. In his correspondence with the foreign chancelleries he signed: «*Lord of Arbënia*» *Dominus Albaniae*³¹; he calls his compatriots «*arbër*» *albanenses*, *albanesi*,³² while in the letter he addressed on 31 December 1460 to the Prince of Taranto, J.A. de Orsino, he writes, «*If our chronicles do not lie, we call ourselves Epirotes*» (*se le nostre croniche non mentino, noy in chiamamo Epiroti*).³³ Marin Barleti provides the second testimony. The humanist from Shkodra mentions the two ethnic denominations and usually makes no difference between them. He calls *Arbër* (*albanenses*) both the Albanians living in Arbëria, or Epirus, and those who had settled in Peloponnesus.³⁴ At the same time he attributes the name of *Epirotes* not only to the people of Kruja and Dibra³⁵ but also to the feudal lords of the northern

30 J. Radonić, p. 129.

31 Ibidem, p. 122.

32 Ibidem, p. 121.

33 Ibidem, p. 121.

34 M. Barleti, *History of the Life and Deeds of Skanderbeg*, Tirana 19, 1964, p. 92.

35 M. Barleti, p. 65, 73

highlands like Leka Dushmani and Pjetër Spani.³⁶ Usually he calls Skanderbeg Epirotes,³⁷ and in some other cases he calls him Albanian,³⁸ but more often prefers to call him the Prince of the Epirotes (Epirotarum Princeps). Some times M. Barleti speaks of Albanians and Epirotes as of two different ethnic groups,³⁹ although these rare cases must be considered only as traces of the old concepts which still lingered on by virtue of tradition. The third testimony is provided by Gjon Muzaka who also refers to the Albanians indiscriminately, as *Albanesi*⁴⁰ and their language as *lingua albanese*,⁴¹ while never mentioning the name *Epirotes*.

Thus it can safely be said that the names *Albanites* and *Epirotes* in the XV century meant the inhabitants of the Albanian-speaking territory; that regardless of their religious allegiance these names had the same ethnic meaning for the Albanians themselves; that in the majority of cases, outside Albania the Albanians were recognised by a single ethnic name; and that, finally, there still existed some foreign circles who still retained the linguistic-religious concept of nationality.

The use of a single ethnic name for the entire Albanian-speaking population also called for a unified geographic denomination for the whole habitat of the Albanians. This process had to cope with four existing geographical denominations, two of which, *Illyria* and *Macedonia*, products of the archaic tendencies of scholars were very soon abandoned while the two others *Arbëria* (*Albanum*, *Albania*) and Epir (Epirus, Epiro) vied for a long time with each other as two theoretically

36 Ibidem, p. 142, 153.

37 Ibidem, p. 55, 56, 60, 75, 77, etc.

38 Ibidem, p. 100, 105.

39 M. Barleti, p. 468.

40 G. Musachio (in Ch. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romaines*, Berlin, 1873), pp. 273-274, 280.

41 G. Musachio, p. 278, 279.

sanctioned geographic denominations: one through the existence of Albanian political formations, the other through its incessant use for nearly two millenia. What did these two geographical denominations represent in the XV Century from the point of view of their character and territorial extension?

In the XVth Century the denomination *Arbënia* (*Albanum*, Albania) had extended to a larger geographical area than that of the time of the «Kingdom of Albania» formed by the Anjous. In 1429 Podgorica (today's Titograd) was considered town of Arbënia, *de Albania*.⁴² In the south, Vlora was considered, as in the time of the Anjous a town in Arbënia, *Valona in Albania*.⁴³ In northeast, Has was regarded as a province in Epirus, *Provincia Az in Epiro*,⁴⁴ while according to a Ragusine act of 1390, Kosturi in the southeast was part of Arbënia, *Castoria de partibus Albaniae*.⁴⁵ Thus Arbënia lay, with some minor corrections, inside the quadrangle Tivar-Prizren-Ohër-Vlora, as L. Thalloszy, K. Jireček and M. Šufflay put it.⁴⁶

The spread of the denomination *Albanum*, *Albania* almost to this imaginary line puts before us the decisive question regarding the problem of the Albanian territories in the XV Century: whether the habitat of the Al-

42 L. Thalloszy — K. Jireček, *Zwei Urkunden*, 129; M. Šufflay, *Serbs*, 40.

43 J. Radović, p. 227.

44 F. Férméndin (in F. Noll, *George Castriot Scanderbeg*, New York 1947), p. 153.

45 B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au Moyen Age*, Paris 1961, p. 229. Gjon Muzaka provides us with almost the same information according to which the mountains of Perister in the vicinity of Kostur formed the frontier between Arbëria and Bulgaria; *un loco nomine la montagna de Peristeri... la se divide l'Albania dalla Bulgaria* (G. Musachio; p. 281).

46 See note 1.

banians extended beyond the borders of this hypothetical quadrangle.

This question calls for a double answer: on the one hand to explain the reason why the denomination *Albanum*, *Albania* did not extend beyond the Tivar-Prizren-Ohër-Vlora line, and on the other hand, to determine which of those regions, which are outside this hypothetical line, had an ethnic Albanian character in the XV Century.

The extension of the denomination *Albanum*, *Albania* to this geographical area can be explained with the same factors which determined the former extension of this denomination from the narrow area of the middle of the XI Century to the broader area at the turn of the XIV Century. In concrete terms, it can be explained with the state of the Balshas which was formed during the second half of the XIV Century. At first this state included Slav and Albanian territories, but the Balshas had their main political support in the Albanian population. In 1369, with their conversion to the Western Church their links with the Orthodox Slavs were further weakened, while their political and religious community with the Catholic Albanians was further strengthened. Thanks to these links in the 70's the Balshas began to extend their state to the South, towards the Albanian regions, reaching the line Vlora-Berat-Kostur while losing in 1372 the Slav regions in the North and retreating approximately behind the line Tivar-Podgorica-Prizren⁴⁷. In this manner this political religious community assumed gradually the character of a Catholic Albanian community. Consequently the title of the Balsha rulers changed from Lords of Zeta, *Dei Gratia dominus Zetae*, into rulers of Arbënia-Gjergj II Balsha «Lord of Albania» *Arbanaskim Gospodinum* «Prince of Arbënia» *Princeps Albaniae*.⁴⁸ Thus the name *Albanum*, *Albania*

47 G. Gelcich, *La Zedda e la dinastia dei Balsidi*, Spalato 1899, pp. 81-84, 108-135.

48 «Jugoslovenska Enciklopedia» vol. 1, p. 154.

applied *only* to the Albanian and Catholic regions, and not to the territories inhabited by Albanians and Orthodox serbs included in their state.

As a conclusion, beginning from the XI century the name Albania, Albanum gained in territory pushing the names *Epir*, and *Romania* further south and the names *Dioklea* and *Sklavonia* further north and in the XVth Century reached the limits to which its political promoter the Albanian political state factor, and not the supposed expansion of the Albanians, led it, as many historians, among whom J.G. Hahn and G. Stadtmüller wrongly think.⁴⁹

As to the territories lying in the south, the most delicate point of controversy is whether the name *Epirus* had a geographical-ethnic content. In our opinion the problem is solved as soon as the ethnic character of the people of Epirus and, from a broader angle, the ethnic character of the Ancient Epirus is clarified. It is not necessary to repeat that in the XV century the name *Epirotes* meant at times the Albanian regardless of his religion, at times only the Orthodox Albanian, and in all cases the Albanian who lived in Epirus. In order to clarify the ethnic character of the inhabitants of the Ancient Epirus we may refer directly to the Greek-Byzantine writers and chroniclers who never use the name Epirotes. While describing the events happening in the territory of Epirus in the first half of the XIV century, J. Kantakuzenos, calls the inhabitants of the regions of Berat, Kanina, Devoll, Kolonja, Pogoni and Libisda *Albanites*⁵⁰. From the «Chronicle of Ioannina» we learn that the *Mazaraki* were the inhabitants of the territory of Përmet, the *Zenevisi* the inhabitants of Dropull and Delvina, the *Malakasi* the inhabitants of Malaka, in the vicinity of Ioannina,⁵¹ and according to the general

49 J. G. Hahn, p. 212, 311; G. Stadtmüller, pp. 29-30, 173.

50 J. Kantakuzenos, I, 55.; II, 20, 32, III, 1, 12,

51 *Chronicle of Ioannina* (in K. Bozhori) p. 23, 25.

opinion of historians they were all Albanians. That the coastal regions of the Ionian Sea were inhabited by Albanians, this is clearly said by Christoboulos⁵² and is implied by Chalcocondylas.⁵³ The presence of Albanians in the eastern regions of Ancient Epirus is proved by the fact that in 1330 they defeated a detachment of Catalans who had passed the Pind mountains and were plundering Epirus⁵⁴ in Kardhiq of Ioannina. From information provided by J. Kantakuzenos⁵⁵ and the «Chronicle of Ioannina»⁵⁶ the conclusion can be easily drawn that the inhabitants of Ancient Epirus were Albanian in their overwhelming majority, as G. Hahn was right to notice.⁵⁷ Here we shall add that the Albanian state formations which were set up in the territory of Epirus during the second half of the XIV Century and, especially, the existence for a long time of the Albanian Despotate of Gjin Bua Shpata which was destroyed only by the Ottoman invaders, provide us with two important elements in favour of our thesis on the problem under discussion: on the one hand they prove that the Albanians, who were the ethnic representatives of these state formations in struggle against the Greek and Serb occupiers, constituted the bulk of the population of Ancient Epirus: on the other hand the political-linguistic community formed by these state formations explains why the Albanians of Epirus come out under their ethnic name precisely in the historical sources of this period and not previous periods. With this ethnic composition, the geographic name of Epirus had an Albanian ethnic colour for most writers and chancellors of a

52 *Chrisobulls of Imbros* III, 16, 1.

53 L. Chalcocondylas, II, 95.

54 J. Ph. Fallmerayer, *Das Albanesische Element in Griechenland*, I, München 1860, p. 254.

55 J. Kantakuzenos, IV, 43.

56 *Chronicle of Ioannina*, p. 4. 23, 25, 35, 38.

57 J. G. Hahn: *Albanesische Studien*, p. 318.

latter period. Thus, two ethnic-geographical denominations were sanctioned for the whole habitat of the Albanians: *Arbënia* and *Epirus*. The later development of these two denominations is a history in itself. We may say only that this development went through four parallel tendencies. The first was the tendency to generalize the name *Epirus* for the entire habitat of the Albanians, as seen, for example in Barleti's works⁵⁸. The second was the tendency to give a double name to the habitat of the Albanians: *Arbënia* for the northern part and *Epirus* for the southern part with the Shkumbini river as its geographic, not ethnic border, as can be seen in Gjon Muzaka⁵⁹. The third tendency was that of identifying *Arbëria* with *Epirus* in order to give the two names the same geographical extension, presenting, thus, the habitat of the Albanians with a double name: *Arbënia* or *Epirus*, *Albania sive Epiro* in Theodor Spandugino⁶⁰. The last tendency was an attempt at extending the name of *Arbënia* beyond its historical (not ethnic) borders by gradually eliminating the name *Epirus*. This tendency is discernible as early as the XV Century among the Ottoman Turks who included the territories from Çamëria to the Mat river in the «Arbanite Sandjak», *Sancak i Arvanid* or *Sancaki Arnavud*, which they formed in 1431⁶¹, and later more clearly in an anonymous description of the XVI Century which says that «the country which is called *Arbënia* today and which was

58 M. Barleti, *History: Danja and Zhabja in Epirus* (p. 91), *Kruja — the heart of Albania* (p. 96), *Kruja in Epirus* (p. 475) while Berat only in *Epirus* (p. 302).

59 G. Musacchio, p. 278. According to him, *Epirus* in Albanian was «Pylloria», *Epiro che in lingua albanese se dice Pylloria* (p. 278).

60 C. N. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Age*, vol. IX (Paris 1890), p. 363.

61 H. Inalcik, *Hicri 835 Tarihli Suret-i Defter-i Sançak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954.

called Macedonia and Epirus in former times extends from the Kotor Straits to the south». The last tendency triumphed, but only among the foreigners, while the Albanians themselves took on another ethnic name — Shqiptar for the inhabitant and Shqipëri for the land.

In the course of the Middle Ages the settlements of the Albanians extended also outside the borders of the country called Arbënia or Epirus. Here the question is about the territories of Kosova, the Dukagjin Plateau (Metohia) and Western Macedonia, the former habitat of the Dardanians, Paeons and Illyrian Lynkests. The fact that the Albanians are not mentioned by their ethnic name as inhabitants of those regions or are only occasionally mentioned in Mediaeval documents not earlier than the XIV century can be explained in the same manner as for other parts of Albania, not that they did not live in those regions, but that Mediaeval writers and chancellors had their own concept of nationality. Since these regions were constantly under Byzantine, Duklean, Serb or Bulgarian rule and did not manage to form any Albanian state formation, it is too much to pretend that they should appear in historical sources under their own ethnic name. Attempts at discovering the existence of the Albanians in these regions by means of place and personal names do not yield great results, because of the tendency of the South Slavs in the Middle Ages to Slavonize on a large scale not only the names of the territories they occupied but also the names of the peoples they ruled. We shall encounter the Albanian under the name of «Arbanas» as the inhabitant of these regions only after the disappearance of the Mediaeval concept of nationality as a political religious community with the Serbs or Bulgarians, practically only in the case he is not an Orthodox Christian. So, it is not accidental that for the first time in the Mediaeval sources of the XIV Century we find the «Arbanas» precisely in those zones (the districts of Shkup and Prizren) where Catholicism is known to have spread on a limited scale —

as customers of the market of Saint George's Monastery in the vicinity of Shkup,⁶² as shepherds, farmers and soldiers in the regions of Tetova,⁶³ as peasants in the lands of the Archangels' Monastery of Prizren,⁶⁴ or as farmers in the annals of the great monastery of Dečan.⁶⁵ We find the Albanians mentioned always in the XIV century, not before, in Dalmatia,⁶⁶ in Bosna⁶⁷ and Hercegovina.⁶⁸ The fact given by L. Thalloczy, K. Jireček and M. Šufflay that up till recent times by the name «Arbanas» the Slavs of the Dalmatia, and Montenegro meant only the Catholic Albanian,⁶⁹ helps us to the conclusion that the Orthodox Albanian who lived in these territories which for a relatively long period of time lay within the borders of the Serb or Bulgarian states, was simply considered a «Serb» or «Bulgarian». Naturally under these conditions any attempts at throwing light on the approximate number of Albanians living in the territories of Kosova, the Dukagjin Plateau and Western Macedonia in the XV century cannot yield concrete results. If we take into consideration the other fact that there exists no archival or literary evidence to prove that the Albanians have during the Middle Ages migrated from Arbëria to

62 S. Novaković, p. 620.

63 Ibidem, p. 660.

64 M. Šufflay, *Die Kirchenzustände*, p. 233; S. Novaković; pp. 682-701:

65 AAlb. I, p. 746, 798.

66 M. Šufflay, *Biologie*, p. 11.

67 V. Skarić, *Porijeklo pravoslavnoga naroda u sjeverozapadnoj Bosni*, in «Glasnik Zem. Muz u Bosni i Hercegovini», 30 (1918) p. 219. According to C. Tagliavini, in *Le terre albanesi redente*, I, Roma 1942, pp. 4-5.

68 V. Corović, *Napomenie o albanskim tragovima u Hercegovinii*, in «Arhiv za arbansku starinu», 1 (1923), p. 201 (according to C. Tagliavini, p. 5).

69 L. Thalloczy, K. Jireček, *Zwei Urkunden*, p. 126; M. Šufflay, *Serbs*, p. 35, *Biologie*, p. 3.

the territories controlled by the Serb Bulgarian state, unlike the documents of the XIV century about the migrations of the Albanians to the Greek regions of Attica and Morea, then we must accept the fact that the «arbanasi» who appear in the historical sources of the XIV Century, mainly as peasants or serfs, represent a very small part (only the Catholics) of the descendants of the former Illyrian inhabitants of those territories, who were not assimilated ethnically and did not abandon their historical settlements. We must also take into account that under the long and powerful pressure of the Serb and Bulgarian Churches and States the territory of the Albanian-speaking population has been constantly shrinking. The Turkish cadastre books of the XVth-XVIth centuries for the Sandjaks of Kosova, Metohia and Macedonia throw some light on this situation.

From what has been said above a series of conclusions emerge:

The Albanians have always been living on their territories inside and outside the political borders of the present day Albania. Considering the situation in the Early Middle Ages, the geographical area occupied by the Albanians in the XV Century is rather the result of territorial restriction than territorial expansion. Despite the difficult conditions they had to live in, the Albanians have always worked, fought and created but their contribution to the economic, social and political development of the Balkans in the course of centuries was attributed by the Mediaeval writers and chancellors to the Byzantines, Bulgarians, Dukleans, Serbs and Latins. The Albanians were hindered in their road of social progress and prevented from uniting in the struggle for political liberation as well as emerging with a common ethnic name at an earlier time not only by successive foreign occupations, but also by different religions and their rival institutions and reactionary doctrines.

The work of the Albanian writers of the XIV-XV centuries to give all Albanians a common ethnic name

must be seen as a reflection of the process of unity which developed among the Albanians of various regions and religions. The consolidation of a common ethnic name for all Albanians from the Middle Ages on must be assessed as a great historical victory of the Albanian people over the particularism fostered by the feudal order for almost a thousand years, over profound political divisions existing for centuries as a result of the activities of different foreign occupiers and over the religious strife stirred up by the two biggest churches of the Middle Ages to the detriment of the small Albanian people. This victory was hastened in particular by the glorious struggle of the Albanians against the Ottoman invaders under the leadership of their legendary hero Gjergj Kastrioti-Skanderbeg who, as our outstanding humanist Marin Barleti writes, was considered not only as the leader of Arbënia and Epirus but also of Peloponnesus.⁷⁰

70 M. Barleti, p. 92.

M. TĚRNAVA

Prishtina

**ALBANIANS IN THE FEUD OF DEČAN IN THE
30'S OF THE 14th CENTURY ACCORDING TO THE
CHRYSOBULL OF DEČAN**

The chrysobull of the Dečan monastery is one of the most important, the biggest and the most complete in historical information, not only among those donations (diplomas, acts) with important data on the mediaeval history of Kosova, but also among all the cyrillic diplomatic documents written in the mediaeval Serb chancelleries. As such it is preserved in the form of a roll (svitak) in the Belgrade state archives, with no inventory number. It is written in a dark poor parchment. Its pages are 0,241 m long and 0,181 m wide. Its covers are bound, and its pages are slightly torn at the bottom without damaging the written text. The top left of the first page of this document carries a cross with cryptograms, in the middle there are 8 lines with a row of six six-pointed stars. A cross with a cryptogram, the marks of which are barely visible, was on the right side of this page.

Judging by its shape and composition, this chrysobull, published in full form by M.S. Milošević¹ and in abridged form by Fr. Miklosich², St. Novaković³, A. Soloviev⁴ and others, is unique in its kind, preserved from the Middle Ages, although it lacks artistic skill...

This important document is undated, though it bears the place where the document has been written. However M.S. Milošević did not solve the problem of its dating on the occasion of its publication in full form, a thing which St. Novaković⁵ did dating it as of the year 1330. He did this basing himself on the data provided by the text of the document which speak of the victory of St. Dečan against the Bulgarians, and on the fact that it bears only the signature of the king St. Dečan.

This chrysobull is an immense help for the reconstruction of a clear historical geographical picture of some settlements of the feud of Dečan, most of which are part of the present-day territory of Kosova in the 30's of the 14th century, so although it supplies only scarce information of a physical, geographic nature, its anthropogeographical material, especially that which has to do with the natural conditions of the settlements, the ethnic composition of the population, their profession, etc., are of great historical value.⁶

St. Novaković made a certain assessment of the

1 Miloš Milošević, *Dečanske hrisovulje*, in Glasnik srpskog učenog društva, XII, Beograd 880, pp. 1-142.

2 Fr. Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica spectantia historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Regusii*, Beč, 1858, pp. 88-100.

3 S. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici srpskih država srednjeg veka*, Beograd 1912, pp. 646-655.

4 Aleksander Solovljev, *Odabrani spomenici srpskog prava srednjega veka*, Beograd 1926, p. 116.

5 S. Novaković, *Selo in Glas* 24, Beograd 1890, p. 213.

6 R. Ivanović-I. Sindik, *Istorijsko geografski značaj Dečanske hrisovulje iz 1330 g.* in «Istorijski časopis», Organ Istoriskog instituta SAN, Beograd 1951, knj. II, p. 185.

historical-geographic significance of this document,⁷ but the study was carried further by R. Ivanović and Sindik⁸ who stressed that «place names are the greatest asset of this chrysobull... Like everywhere else, here too, toponomastics carries in itself the past history of the former composition and the trade pursuits of the population.»⁹

From an historical document such as this chrysobull, we can readily see that all the settlements of the feud of Dečan fell into two categories: in the so-called «sela» and «zaseoci»¹⁰. The names of these settlements and the other names of the machrotoponyms reflect the topographic language of a considerable part of the present-day territory of Kosova from the 3rd to 4th decade of the 14th century.

The outstanding scholar St. Novaković, in his work «Selo» provides considerable information about the life and social relations in the mediaeval religious feuds and the life and social relations in the bigger feuds: Banjska, Gračanika, Dečan, and in that of St. Archangel in the vicinity of Prizren. In his book he mentions many agricultural and pastoral villages, though he makes some incorrect observations about the ethnic composition of the above mentioned feuds, among which the feud of the Dečan monastery has an important place, and his notes about their toponomastics are incomplete, whereas in the work of R. Ivanović, «Dečansko Vlastelinstvo»¹¹, it appears much better.

Seen as a whole, the Dečan feud is divided into two

7 S. Novaković, *Selo*, p. 51.

8 See R. Ivanović-I. Sindik, op. cit.

9 Ibidem, p. 186.

10 The Albanian term for those settlements which in this document are called «sela» is village, for the «zaseoci» we don't have suitable name. In fact, *zaselak* (pl. *zaseoici*) is a small hamlet. Here a small hamlet is meant.

11 R. Ivanović, *Dečansko vlastelinstvo*, in «Istorijski časopis», Beograd 1954, knj. IV, pp. 173-225.

territories, depending on its configuration and structure: the southern and the northern territories. The former included chiefly settlements, fertile lands, forests, pasture grounds, etc., most of which is now part of Kosova and is known as the Dukagjin Plateau; whereas the northern part is mainly a mountainous region and includes some mountainous and hilly zones in the districts of Plava, Gucia and Lim. Although the southern territory was mostly a flat country, while the northern part a hilly-mountainous zone, they constituted one geographical entity, whereas from the economic appertenance they made up one feud of the Dečan monastery over an area of 2500 sq. km.

The so-called «sela», «zasoeći» and «katuni» (villages) of the south territory, of the Dečan feud were part of the following *župas*:¹² Zaternava, Altin, Reka, Patkova, and Podrima.

The Zaternava *župa* (small region) comprised the villages in the present territories of Dečan : *Dečan*, present-day Dečan, about which the document makes no mention of the names of the inhabitants;¹³ *Crveno Brezhan*, the present-day Carrabreg the names of whose inhabitants also fail to appear in the document;¹⁴ Pridvorn, today non existant either as a settlement or as a toponym, without

12 From the written sources of the time of developed feudalism *župa* is known as a region that formed part of the mediaeval Serbian state although the *župans* are mentioned as early as the 10th century. In the feudal system of the mediaeval Serbia *župa* appears in the written documents as a territorial and administrative unit in the time of the Nemanja heirs. However at the time of the Serbian despotate (1402-1459) *župa* refers to a territorial unit, because its juridical function was assumed by the so-called «vlast» under the jurisdiction of *vojvoda* («*Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*», 8, pp. 652-653).

13 M. Milojević, *Dečanske hrisovulje*, p. 3; R. Ivanović; *Dečansko vlastelinstvo* p. 182.

14 M. Milojević, *Dečanske...*, p. 4.

the names of its inhabitants;¹⁵ Belegun with 11 houses and 30 males;¹⁶ Ločan with 60 households and 200 males;¹⁷ the Upper and the Lower Lukas with 20 households and 73 males.¹⁸

The personal names in these villages of the region of Zaternava were mainly Slavonic (Serbian), although some names like Berk, Berilo, Mirosh, etc., do not seem of a Slavonic origin.

The feud of Dečan included the western part of the mediaeval župa, known as Hvosna or Hvoštna, i.e., the present-day territory between the Bistrica of Peja and that of Dečan. The following are the villages that belong to that territory: *Strelc* with 70 households and 130 males;¹⁹ *Lubolik* with 74 households and 230 males²⁰; *Bohorik*, present-day *Bohorici* with 24 households and 78 males; *Lubusa*, a small village²¹ with 9 households and 24 males, situated in the vicinity of Strelc along the road Peja-Dečan-Gjakova²²; *Istinik*, or Isníc of today, with 37 households and 127 males²³; *Bivolar* with 7 households, non-existent as a settlement today but as an oronym of a part of the Isníc village²⁴ and *Papračan* with 52 households and 174 males²⁵.

According to the anthropony figuring in this document, most of the inhabitants of these villages had Slavonic (Serbian) names. But amongst them we come across names of a non-Slav origin, something which is revealed by the form they appear in the document.

15 Ibidem

16 Ibidem.

17 Ibidem.

18 Ibidem.

19 Ibidem, p. 184.

20 Ibidem, pp. 184-185.

21 Ibidem, p. 185.

22 Ibidem.

23 Ibidem.

24 Ibidem.

25 Ibidem, p. 186.

For example, in the Strelc village we encounter the anthroponym *Beroje*, in Lubolik village we find *Shishman* and *Beran*, in Bohorici we find the Albanian anthroponym *Prenko*, in Lubisa we encounter *Miles̃h*; in Isnici, Bukur and Toloje and in the village of Prapačan we find the name *Miles̃ha*. Although it is difficult to be precise about who used such names in the Middle Ages, it is more correct to accept the idea that either the Albanians or the Wallachians (Arumanians) used them. However, the anthroponym *Prenk* provides us with a clear evidence that Albanian inhabitants lived in the Bohoric village as early as the first half of the 14th century. Nevertheless, we must stress that no purely Slav (Serbian) anthroponyms or south Slav ones of the 30's of the 14th century were used in the newly founded feud of Dečan as a separate group of names, by a certain group of inhabitants with the same ethnic origin, but Slav and Albanian or Albanian and Slav anthroponyms were used within one family. This is proved by the anthroponymic structure of the above mentioned villages. Thus, we find the following note in this document: «A u njih noloje a sin mu priboje, a brat mu mirsha i prenko»²⁶, which is related in the Bohoric village and proves that apart from the greater part of Slav names used in the family, there was also the Albanian name *Prenk* which proves that all this family was Albanian but had gradually assimilated the Slav anthroponymy. There are similar notes for more of the above-mentioned villages. For example: in the Lubiša village we find «Trashan a brat mu Miles̃h a ded im Hvalislav»²⁷, in Isnici «Preljub a sin bogoje i branko i miloslav a ded im bukur... Toloje a sin mu priboje i rado-slav»²⁸ etc.

The Reka župa was situated north of present-day Gjakova. It is highly probable that it has taken its name

26 Ibidem, p. 8.

27 Ibidem, p. 9, 76.

28 M. Milojević, p. 5.

from the configuration of the territory, that is, it has been named after the rivers of Ternava and Erenik which flow through it. There the Dečan monastery had a tenure of 4 villages and 3 hamlets: *Hrasovica* with 34 households and 103 males, today a village on both sides of the Dečan-Gjakova road; *Prekilug* with 180 households and 48 males (present-day Prekoluka), *Prilep* with 21 households and 52 males (a quarter of the village of Hrastovica situated today on the eastern side of Dečan-Gjakova road); *Baba* with 76 households and 267 males (today named Babaloc, the suffix *loc* deriving from the word *lloc*²⁹); Germocel with 90 households and 296 males (present-day Gramocel is situated on the eastern side of the Dečan-Gjakova road); Rznić with 38 households and 105 males (present-day Irznic), and *Batusha* with 7 households and 15 males.³⁰

The names of the inhabitants of the villages of the Reka župa are almost of the same origin as those of the Hvosna župa. Apart from the Slav there are other anthroponyms in the villages of this župa. In the village of Hrstovica (present-day Hrastovica) we find the new name «Shok», in all probability a genuine autochthonous Albanian name, not encountered in the other above-mentioned villages. The document has also the name of the brother of «shok» «a brat mu dobroslov bukonuki»³¹. Still here, amongst others we encounter names of residents: Trashan, Toliak, Berislav, etc. Worth mentioning is the anthroponymic note: «mileša a brat mu radoslav i dabižv i dobroslov». Besides, from a detailed analysis of the anthroponymy of the above-mentioned villages, we observe that in the Baba village there is a new anthroponym *Shin*³², which is not found in the other villages mentioned so far and which

29 R. Ivanović, op. cit., p. 187.

30 Ibidem, pp. 187-188.

31 M. Milojević, op. cit., p. 11.

32 Ibidem, p. 13.

has been possibly used only amongst the Albanians. It must be stressed that a family in the Gramocel village had these male folk: «Gon (Gjon-M.T.) a sin mu Radoslav i Bogoslav»³³ from whom the first, i.e., the father had an Albanian name, the Albanian form Gjon, while his sons had Slav names (Serb): Radoslav and Bogoslav. The fact that the father of this family had an Albanian name proves that it was an Albanian family. Another family of this village had likewise a member of the family with the name *Milesh*. These cases of a mixture of anthroponymy in the villages of the feud of Dečan in the 30's of the 14th century are very important, because they throw light on the co-existence of the Albanian-Serb anthroponymy. This is a very significant fact which speaks about the anthroponymic symbiosis and in many cases of an ethnic symbiosis, as social phenomena that accompany the historical development of every country from the ancient time to this day.

The fourth župa, *Altin*, lied between the župa of Reka and the Valbona river. It included 10 villages belonging to the monastery of Dečan. They were: *Tropoja* with 67 households and 147 males, *Lluzhan* with 29 households and 74 males, *Babjan* with 29 households and 94 males, *Goraj*, with 74 households and 230 males, *Shipčan* with 48 households and 140 males, *Shoshan* with 31 households and 112 males, *Greva* with 11 households and 34 males, who were all Albanian, *Bunjaj* with 61 households and 203 males, *Krastavlan* with 50 households and 150 males, and *Bulub* (*Bulja*) with 57 households and 157 males³⁴. We must point out that Altin included other inhabited centres that are not mentioned in the document, because they were not property of the Dečan monastery. According to this document, of all the villages of the Altin region, the village of Greva was inhabited only by Albanians. Its anthroponymy appears like this:

33 Ibidem, p. 16.

34 R. Ivanović, op. cit., pp. 88-100.

«Bogiša a brat mu magoje a sin mu Andreja. Martin a sin mu andreja i susko pavl, duras a sin mu zaharija, bogša ivan a sin mu nikola a brat mu durd. Tanuš, a sin mu mihal d'minko a sin mu andreja koprc a sin mu grdan i dolin i duraš, d'mitr gon ivan durd a ded im marko, vojgo i gon i dobravé a sin mu nikola, durd nikola i gin a ded im zaharija»³⁵.

The anthroponymy of the Albanian village *Greva*, situated in present-day Albania, is a characteristic example which not only proves the coexistence of Albanian-Slavonic anthroponyms in this village, but also shows that in the 30's of the 14th century, the Albanians of the Dečan feud used, besides their names like *Gjin*, *Gjon*, *Tanush*, etc., other Slavonic (Serbian) names or Christian names in a Slavonic form. The fact that in this Albanian settlement (*Greva* village) we find purely Slav names (Serb or other Christian names in a Slavonic form) helps us to find Albanian elements of the feud in question even in those villages about which the document is silent, or at least to prove with certainty that wherever Albanian names appear, we have to do with Albanian families which time after time, under the influence of political, state, administrative and religious factors, assumed foreign names (in this case Slav or Christian names in a Slavonic form).

In the villages of the Župa of Altin there are a few typical Albanian anthroponyms such as *Gjon* (Gon) *Lesh* (lesh), *Tanush Gjin*, etc., much less than the Slav (Serbian) names which predominate even in the villages that were inhabited by Albanians alone, such as *Greva*. The anthroponymy of the village of *Greva* is convincing proof in favour of our hypothesis that the great number of the Slav personal names does not necessarily prove that all their inhabitants were of a Slav origin, because Slav names were carried by a non-Slav population. This does not imply that there was no Slav population in those

35 M. Milojević, op. cit. pp. 34-35.

villages, and that behind the Slav anthroponymy we must always seek people of non-Slav origin. It is known that the villages of the feud of the Dečan monastery had a number of inhabitants of Slav (Serbian) origin who co-existed with Albanians, Wallachians and others. Therefore it is impossible to make definitive statements about the purely Slav, Albanian or Wallachian composition of the villages of this zone, or to try to work out the ratio of the different populations in them.

Patkova as a župa³⁶ is mentioned in written documents even prior to the formation of the Dečan feud³⁷ in the year 1208, and besides the chrysobull of Dečan (1330), it is mentioned later in the chrysobull of the Monastery of St. Archangel of Prizren (1348). On the basis of data provided by these three mediaeval documents M. Nikolić wrote the study «The mediaeval župa of Patkova»,³⁸ in which he reaches the conclusion that the župa of Patkova comprised the present territory of Kosova known as Has and a part of the present territory of Albania up to the place named Bytyç.³⁹

According to the Dečan chrysobull, the Dečan monastery included the following villages of this region: *Vllahinja*, *Rugova*, *Dolanc*, *Libovac*, *Jabučna*, and the winter pasture-land *Modra Slladina*⁴⁰. Of these villages *Vllahinja* and *Modra Slladina* are situated in the territory

36 After the župa of Patkova submitted to Turkish rule it existed only as a village. (See Selami Pulaha, *The North-eastern Regions of the Dukagjin Sandjak (Has) and Their Population in the Second Half of the 16th Century*, in «Albanological Investigations», Series of historical sciences, II (1972), Prishtina 1974, p. 221.

37 See M. Nikolić, *Srednovekovna župa Patkova* («Istorijski časopis», knj. XVIII, Beograd 1971, pp. 207-213).

38 This study had been published in the quoted review, No 54.

39 M. Nikolić, op. cit. pp. 194-195.

40 R. Ivanović, op. cit., pp. 194-195.

of present-day Albania, while the rest in that of Kosova. Only the location of the village Jabučno poses some problems. The document gives only the names of the inhabitants of Dolanc village of this zupa, and they appear to be mainly Slav.

The Dečan feud included in its territory some villages of the region called *Podrime*. They were Čabič with 59 households and 190 inhabitants, today a village of the same name on the left side of the Drin i Bardhë River; *Dobridol* with 12 households and 37 males, a quarter of the Čabik village; *Palezh* (Paluza), the names of whose inhabitants have not been recorded; *Serosh*, with 145 households and 395 males, which S. Novaković located somewhere in the mountainous area of Peja, Purković tried to place in the regions of present-day Rahovec, and recently R. Ivanović came to the more correct conclusion admitting that the place where the Serosh village must be situated was in the strip between the Bistrica of Dečan and the Erenik River⁴¹; *Brodlić* with 20 households and 50 males; *Jabllanica* with no names of inhabitants in the document; *Zerza* with 21 households and 38 males, and *Brestovac* with 2 households and 5 males.⁴²

The anthroponymy of the Podrima villages proves that most of personal names are Slav, but the Albanian, Wallachian and other names were not absent. The most typical example is the village Serosh, in which according to data of this chrysobull, there are many cases that prove the Slav-Albanian or Albanian-Slav co-existence. From the note: «runko a brat mu rad a sin mu hodan a brat mu prenko»⁴³, it is not very difficult to see that this family used three Slav names and one Albanian name to baptize its members, and this is highly probable, bearing in mind the conditions predominating in this region

41 Ibidem, p. 192.

42 Ibidem, pp. 190-194.

43 M. S. Milojević, op. cit. p. 98.

in the first half of the 14th century. So we are justified to suppose that this was an Albanian family, which had adopted Slav names, and had, on the other hand, preserved only one Albanian name, which proves its origin. There is another case, «pribislav a brat mu bušat a sin mu dragoš»⁴⁴, which shows that this family, too, was Albanian; its members had two Slav names and one Albanian name. These two names and the others mentioned above, as well as those that are left unmentioned, reveal a phenomenon which has not been studied so far, that is, the abandonment of Albanian names and the adoption of Slavonic names by the Albanian families in the territories of the Dečan feud by the year 1330, a process which affected somewhere more and somewhere less powerfully all the Albanian families of the Dečan feud. This is a valid argument, because in the above-mentioned families, which we consider to be Albanian on the basis of the preservation of an Albanian anthroponymy, we clearly distinguish Slav names among them. In our opinion, the adoption of foreign names by the Albanian population did not occur accidentally or immediately, but as a very long process of evolution; this process was on the ascent up till the middle of the 15th century due to the existing historical conditions. The adoption of Slav anthroponyms did not take place with the same intensity everywhere during the entire existence of the Mediaeval Serbian rule in the Dečan feud, but developed according to the general situation in the mediaeval Serbian state.

The anthroponymy of the *Serosh* village, according to the data of the Dečan chrysobull, is therefore very interesting; it illustrates a variety in the anthroponymy of this place, and clearly proves that there are characteristic Slav, Albanian and other personal names which were very frequently used, sometimes even within the same family. The use of Slav anthroponymy and Albanian anthroponymy within the same family of this

44 Ibidem, p. 59.

village and other villages speaks in favour of the opinion that such families were Albanian by origin, too, because in those conditions in the 30's of the 14th century, when the Slav (Serb) culture, administration, writing and Serb power predominated in this part of the present-day territory of Kosova and in the whole territory of present-day Kosova, it cannot be imagined that the Albanian population of the Dečan village could have had any great influence on its Serbian population, or, far less impose the use of the Albanian anthroponymy; in all probability the opposite has occurred: because of the domination of the Slav language in the administration, in particular, the existence of the Serb power, the big influence of the Serb Orthodox Church, which during the religious rituals used Serbian and the Slav writing, the Albanian element of the Dečan feud began to gradually replace its anthroponymy with the Slav or Serbian one. This process must have begun early in the 13th century, when the power of Nemanjia was established in these villages. It continued uninterruptedly throughout the whole existence of Serb rule with the result that, within less than a century and a half, in the 30's of the 14th century, when the chrysobull of Dečan was written, Albanian personal names became very scarce. The preservation of this chrysobull is a great fortune, because from its material we conclude positively about the co-existence of Albanian and Slav personal names in the feud of Dečan. However, the use of Slav (Serbian) anthroponymy by the Albanian inhabitants of the above-mentioned villages is not proof in favour of the total assimilation of the population. As is known even the most renowned Albanian families, such as that of the Kastrioti, used Slav names or Christian names in a Slavonic form, which does not raise the slightest doubt about their Albanian origin. The fact that the Turkish records of the second half of the 15th and 16th⁴⁵ century with their rich material indirectly

45 See S. Pulaha, *op. cit.*

supply material in support of the presence of Albanians in these villages, strengthens our conviction in the validity of our method of study of historical data, especially the personal names of the Dečan chrysobull.

It is worth mentioning that in the description of the borders of the village Čabik this document mentions the toponym «Unjemir», present-day Ujëmir, which K. Jireček wrongly puts as of Slav origin. However, the science of Albanology considers that the toponym can be correctly explained only through the Albanian language.⁴⁶ The historical importance of this mediaeval Albanian toponym lies in the fact that there were Albanian-speaking people there or in its vicinity, who formed that place name.

The Albanian element was not absent in the settlements of the northern territory of the Dečan feud. The settlements in the present territory of Plava and Gucia, which as this chrysobull shows, were donated to the monastery of Dečan, are: *Plava* (Selo u Plave grad) which, according to the description of its borders in the document, was situated in the vicinity of present-day Plava. There were 27 households and 75 males carrying mainly Slav names (Serbian names), but some of them also had such names as *Martin*, *Millesh*, *Toloje*⁴⁷, etc., and *Jare*, a hamlet of the Plava village, the names of whose inhabitants do not appear in the document;⁴⁸ *Ribar*, today non-existent as a settlement, the names of whose inhabitants are, likewise, missing;⁴⁹ *Komoran* (Komorača), on the right bank of the Lim River, whose inhabitants had chiefly Slavonic names. But in the midst of them we also find the name *Gjon* («Gon s bratom i

46 See, E. Çabej, *On Some Problems of the History of the Albanian Language*, in «Bulletin of the State University of Tirana», series of social sciences, no. 3, 1963, p. 83.

47 M. S. Milojević, op. cit. pp. 38-39.

48 Ibidem, p. 40.

49 Ibidem, pp. 55-56.

detiju»), i.e., an Albanian family;⁵⁰ *Velika* with 15 households and 45 males, who bear mainly Slav names⁵¹; *Trepča* (Trebča), which was part of the territory of Gucia, present-day Trepča, at the time of this chrysobull had only 16 households and 53 males with Slav names⁵²; and *Vërmosha* (Vrmos), situated in the territory of Albania, with 26 households and 105 males with Slav names. We must add that the names Vitan and Miresha⁵³ appear in this document.

By means of this chrysobull the king St. Dečan presented the monastery of Dečan with two more villages: *Srednjo sela* and *Kumanova* which were situated in Drenica. The former had 20 households and 79 males, while the latter 9 households and 33 males.⁵⁴ Almost all the inhabitants had Slav names. Likewise, by this act the king presented the monastery of Dečan with some shepherds' settlements, which in this document are called «katun». The well-known scholar N. Jokl explains the word «katun», a word still in use in our language today etymologically with the Albanian language. This explanation was accepted by many outstanding Albanologists. The renowned linguist P. Skok stressed that it is correct from the phonetic, semantic, historical and geographic viewpoint.⁵⁵ In connection with this, we may add that this word came to penetrate among the Slavs (Serbians) through the neighbouring Albanian speaking population, via Kosova of today, Montenegro or Northern Albania, where the contacts between the Albanians and the Slavs were more frequent and this word was used more frequently. The word «katun» is mentioned in the Slav do-

50 Ibidem, p. 114.

51 Ibidem, pp. 40-41.

52 Ibidem, p. 41 and 45.

53 Ibidem, pp. 116-117.

54 Ibidem, pp. 26-27.

55 See Petar Skok, *Etimologijski riječnik Hrvatskog ili Srpskoga jezika*, II, Zagreb, 1972, p. 64.

cuments from the year 1220 in the chrysobull of the Žiča monastery.⁵⁶

On the occasion of presenting the monastery of Dečan with the said villages, the chrysobull writes: «I jeliko mi bist vz možno priložiti hramu semu sel i katun vlaški i arbanaskih»⁵⁷. They amounted to 10, out of which 9 Wallachian villages and one Albanian village. The territory on which these villages were situated must be somewhere in the Dukagjin Plateau.

The Wallachian villages of the Dečan feud were: «Ratishevc with 17 households and 62 males, situated near the village Riznić, now known as villages with the name Ratish i Epërm and Ratish i Ulët, something which shows that even the villages known as shepherds' settlements were transformed, in certain historical conditions, into villages of rural settlements»⁵⁸ *Sushiqan* (Sušičane) with 29 households and 181 males, which M. Purković⁵⁹ locates somewhere in the outskirts of Istok, while R. Ivanović rightly seeks the place of this village in the territory between Bistrica of Dečan and Erenik, where he finds the

56 The testimony (*povelja*) of the Žiče monastery is preserved in written form on the northern and southern walls of the monastery. But in all probability, the original document of the feud of this monastery, written in parchment must have existed, whereas the present-day inscriptions have been made by the end of the 13th century. The year when the original act was carried out must be almost that of the setting up of the monastery itself, i.e., 1219 or 1220. Until a few years before, the idea that two inscriptions are only one document (testimony, proof), was widespread but Dušan Sindik rejected this idea, coming to the conclusion that those inscriptions are two documents. (See Dušan Sindik, *Jedna ili dve Žičke povelje*, in «Istorijski časopis», knj. 14-15, Beograd 1965, pp. 310-314).

57 M. S. Milojević, op. cit., p. 3.

58 R. Ivanović, op. cit., p. 203.

59 Ibidem, pp. 203-204.

toponym Sušiče;⁶⁰ Vardishtan (Vardičtane) with 11 households and 48 males, which according to R. Ivanović is situated somewhere in the centre of the Dečan feud;⁶¹ *Lepiqinove* with 18 households and 71 males, which has not been definitely located.⁶² The villages of *Gjurashevc* (Djuraševski katuni) with 53 households and 110 males, situated somewhere in the vicinity of present-day Gjakova;⁶³ *Svetovracan*, situated in Hvosna with 35 households and 90 males;⁶⁴ *Tudorigević* with 29 households and 104 males, situated in the vicinity of Rugova, in the župa of Patkova⁶⁵ and *Gojilove*, with 35 households and 110 males, situated near the village Ločan, not far from Dečan.⁶⁶ Besides these Wallachian villages, the feud of Dečan included also the so-called «katun arbansa»⁶⁷, which, according to the description of borders in the chrysobull, must be situated on the right side of the Drin River, near the village of Zerzeva, present-day Zërza.

Since the chrysobull gives 9 villages as Wallachian, in fact they are called «Wlach villages», it would be normal to speak only of a Wallachian population there. But from their anthroponymy we presume that the population of these 9 villages was not exclusively Wallachian. It is

60 Ibidem, p. 204.

61 Ibidem.

62 Ibidem.

63 Ibidem.

64 Ibidem, pp. 204-205.

65 Dr. Sima Cirković, in the «Encyclopaedia of Yugoslavia», speaking about the concept «župa» during the Middle Ages, notes among other things, «Izvan župe ostaju i katuni, naseobine vlaškin stočara». However, if the aim of this sentence is not to prove that the «katun» were outside the župa from the juridical point of view, then it is wrong, because from the territorial or geographic aspect, the katune (villages) were part of the župa, too.

66 R. Ivanović, op. cit., p. 205.

67 Ibidem.

very interesting to note that a great number of their inhabitants had Slav names (Serbian) such as Radoslav, Vojislav, Bogoje, Ranko, Rade, Stanillo, etc., but there are also other inhabitants with such names as Sharban, Shishman, Krecul, etc., which are Wallachian. Moreover in these Wlach villages one can find anthroponyms characteristic of the Albanians, such as Gjin, Lesh, Tola, etc., from which we are justified to think that there were Albanian inhabitants in these villages. Worthy of mention are certain cases of the use of the Slav names and Albanian names, or characteristic Albanian names like «radoslav a brat mu radomir i brane a otac im leš»,⁶⁸ from which it is apparent that the bread-winner had an Albanian name, *Lesh*, whereas his sons had Slav baptismal names. In our opinion this family was of Albanian origin. In some other families we also note that Slav and Wallachian names are used. Therefore, if personal names are the criterion to define the structure of the population of those nine villages, it results that they were made up of Serbians, Wallachian and Albanians. But, as it is known that the Serbians in those regions of the Dukagjin Plateau were little or not at all engaged in livestock raising, we may well suppose that those «Wallachian villages» were inhabited only by Wallachians and Albanians. Anthroponymy is not proof against such an opinion. Although the Slav anthroponymy predominates, this is not contrary to what we propose, because we may suppose that under the influence of political, state and religious factors, both the Albanians and Wallachians took Slav (Serbian) names. But we are not certain, nor can we be, that the Wallachian population was assimilated by the Serbian population, because such a possibility is unaccounted for especially when we bear in mind that there was no Slav population in those villages in the previous centuries, something which would have conditioned what we said above.

68 Ibidem, pp. 48-49.

The personal names in these Wallachian villages, in particular those which prove the use of Albanian names among their inhabitants, are in favour of the opinion the French scholar Pouqueville proposes in his work «Voyage en Grèce» (second edition, Paris, 1826, II, 389), according to which it is said that the Wallachians were such from the point of view of their nationality, but were later Albanianized. Hence, we are justified in accepting the idea expressed earlier that the term Wallachian in the 14th century was used to denote not only an ethnic group, but also a profession.

The anthroponymy of the so-called «Katun arbanasa» shows that in fact anthroponymy cannot be considered as the main and absolute criterion for the definition of the ethnic structure of these villages, which appears like this: «leš tuz is detiju branislav čurko s bratijom i s detiju, svinoglav i s detiju gon bušat i gon petr. i gin. gratan georgic i budan. petr suma i s bration mataguzh s bratom lazor i prijezda. krec s detiju. gonoma. dmin'ko i leš, dmitr s bratiom. an dri čko s bratiom petr s bratiom. dminko s detiju, reč i s detiju. leš i lazor progon mira, petr kuc s bratiom. pavl s detiju dmin'ko s detiju nikola. Pavl s bratiom. mihal i dmitr. golub i gon s bratiom. djurdj i šok i tesmir. marko suma i mizko i pelegrin... s gonc. lazo... (pi) serag dejak s detiju, bogoslav».⁶⁹

Apparently, although this village was an Albanian settlement, the Slav (Serb) anthroponymy had made its influence felt so much that the name *golub*, as well as other names of Slav origin or of Christian origin in a Slav form, had come into use among them.

From the anthroponymy of the village inhabited by Albanians we learn that the names Lesh, Gjon, Shok, Bushat, etc., are characteristic Albanian names of the inhabitants of the Dečan feud in the 30's of the 14th century.

From what was said above, it emerges that in the

69 Ibidem, pp. 120-121.

30's of the 14th century there were Albanian inhabitants in the feud of Dečan who are mentioned in the said chrysobull as inhabitants of katune (villages), i.e., livestock raisers. However, this does not rule out the possibility that there might have been such inhabitants living in other villages, where they engaged in agriculture. The anthroponymy of the agricultural villages of the feud in question proves that the Albanian element was not absent among them, too.

The anthroponymic data of the Dečan chrysobull, among other things, permit us to understand how far from the scientific truth are those scholars who deny the presence of the Albanian element in the Dečan feud during the Middle Ages. Such scholars, whether of the ancient or modern historiography, regard the direct and indirect information of this chrysobull in a one-sided, superficial, unscientific and biased manner. Therefore, their prejudice and mistaken conclusions cannot stand up in front of the original sources, such as the Dečan chrysobull.

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**THE PRESENCE OF THE ALBANIAN ETHNOS IN
KOSOVA DURING THE 13th-14th CENTURIES IN
THE LIGHT OF THE SERBIAN CHURCH
SOURCES¹**

The sources which offer material on the structure of the names of the Albanian ethnos during the 13th-14th centuries are relatively scarce. Such materials can be found mainly in different Venetian and Ragusan cadastral documents of church sources of those centuries...

First-hand Serbian sources on this question are the charters and chrysobulls issued by the Serbian rulers of that time, especially those which have to do with the Albanian territory and the ethnos, mainly of Kosova, but also of Montenegro, Macedonia and southeastern Serbia.

Although these sources are not as complete as the

¹ This study is part of the manuscript «Problems of the Autochthony of the Albanians in the Light of Onomastic Materials».

censuses made in the years 1455² and 1485³ by the Turkish administration, or other Turkish registration books of the individual sandjaks in the later centuries, the Serbian church sources still present a relatively rich onomastic material on which we can judge whether the linguistic belonging of the names is equal to the ethnic belonging of the individuals with such names, and prove that the Albanian ethnos was present during those centuries in the above-mentioned regions of today's Yugoslavia.

The aim of this study is to determine the level of Slavization of the names of the Albanian ethnos during the 13th and 14th centuries in present-day Kosova and other regions of Yugoslavia, where they live today.

On the bases of the historical religious and social conditions under which the Albanian ethnos lived in those centuries in the regions where they live today, we can affirm that this part of the Albanian names of the Albanian ethnos is in fact the minimum of a unified anthroponymic system of that ethnos which during those centuries had nearly been Slavized from the onomastic point of view.

We shall give here only one example which proves that not only during the Middle Ages was there an Albanian population in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, but also that it had its own national language. Our example has to do with the replacement of the patronym with an attribute which has as its basis the ethnic name of the inhabitants — an attribute which must be taken as a feature of the ethnic belonging. Hence, for example, in the chrysobull of Stefan Dušan with which he confirmed the noble Ivanko Probištitović of Shtipi in the possession of a garden, there is also mention of such

2 See *Oblast Brankoviča*, opsirni katastarski popis iz 1455 godine, Sarajevo 1972.

3 See Selami Pulaha, *Registration Book of the Shkodra Sandjak of 1485*, Tirana 1974.

people as *Mano Vllahu*, *Gin Arbanasi*, *Dragosllav Vllahu*, *Dragosllav Serbi*⁴. We point out that this is one among many such cases especially in the territory under the rule of the Brankovićes, which testifies that the names too reveal the ethnic belonging of the individuals who bear them...

...In the case of the Albanian ethnos we must take into account the family and blood relations among the inhabitants of a village or family (although in the Serbian church documents blood relations appear rarely). The linguistic belonging of the personal names may often lead to denial of the existence of the Albanian ethnos in one or several villages of Kosova, Montenegro, Macedonia and southeastern Serbia, however, the cases with the names of the Albanian villages (called «Katun Arbanasa») such as Grevë, where the inhabitants nearly all have Slavonic names, the case of the Katun Arbanasa which is situated in the surroundings of the present village of Xerxë, where the names are in the main part Slavonic, then the names of the villages described were Wallachian (Bllace, Pinušinc, Kostečan today Kostrec, Šušican, Studencan, Ngucat, Bernjaka and others), there are a few Albanian names which support the idea that the Albanian ethnos was much larger in number than what may be presumed from the names and the other data in the field of onomastics.



Seen chronologically, the earliest proof of the presence of the Albanian ethnos during the 13th century in present-day Kosova (judging on the basis of a place name

⁴ A. Solovjev, *Ođabrani spomenici srpskog prava*, Beograd, 1926.

which has an Albanian ethnic name as its second part) is that mentioned in a letter of Knjaz Miroslav before the years 1253-1254...

From this document of the first half of the 13th century it emerges that Miroslav had, apart from the villages on the bank of Humi, two villages in the present territory of Kosova. He also had a village near Dukagjin (in the document: Hvosno) and another in Drenica (in the document: Deržkovina); near Dukagjin he had the village of Rakos whereas in Drenica he had the village of Kruševc in the surroundings of present-day Serbica.

When Miroslav defined (before 1253-1254) the boundary of the present village of Kruševc of Serbica, he said that it extended «...from the mountain to the Devic stream, from there over the mountain to the stream of the Albanians in the mountains and from there to the river, in Klina»⁵.

Another proof which, on the basis of the linguistic belonging of the names, speaks of the presence of the Albanian ethnos, is perhaps that of the years 1293-1302 in which, among the inhabitants of a place called *Ship* in the present village of Pogradje of the Klina region, there are: *Dobrosllav* the son of *Gjin*, *Gergo Kavać* one of the sons of *Zverk* and *Bratil* the son-in-law of *Gon* of whom we may say that they are Albanians names *Gon*⁶ (*Gjon*) *Gjergj* and an antroponym *Zverk* or a nickname formed from the word *zverk* (neck).

More detailed data have to do with the anthroponymic

5 St. Stojanović, *Stari srpski hrisovulji, ljetopisi, rodoslovi...* in *Spomenik III*, Belgrade, 1890, p. 9.

6 In our opinion it should be taken up as a separate study whether *Gon* is the Slavonic variant of the Albanian name *Gjon* or some older phase of the Albanian or a diminutive of the antroponym *Progon*. We have seen many cases which prove that *Gon* is the diminutive of *Progon* whereas in other cases it emerges as Slavonic variant or an ancient phase of the Albanian name *Gjon*.

material of the Albanian ethnos offered by the Dečan chrysobull of 1330 which gives, although not always, the names of the inhabitants of the places under the rule of the Dečan feud. An analysis of this chrysobull has been recently made by Muhamet Ternava.⁷

From some of the data of this chrysobull it emerges that in the villages which were property of the Dečan feud, there were inhabitants with Slavonic names, Albanian names and Wallachian names. Among the inhabitants with Albanian names in those regions are *Prenko*⁸, an inhabitant of the village of Bohoriq, *Bukur* and *Toloje* in the present village of Isnić of that region⁹, whereas in the present village of Gramacel there was one *Gon*¹⁰.

The more Albanian names we find, the greater the possibility of seeing the depth of the penetration of the Serbian names among the Albanian ethnos in the village called «katun arbanasa» in the chrysobull, which was situated on the right side of the Drin River, near the present village of Xerxë. The number of inhabitants with Albanian names in that village is greater than those with Slavonic names. Here we see the following inhabitants:

«leš tuz i s detiju branislav čurko s bratijom i s detiju svingolv i s detiju gon bušat i gon i petro, i gin gratan georgić i budan. Petr suma i s bratiom mataguž sbratom lazor i prijezda. krec s detju, gonoma. . .»¹¹ This chrysobull also mentions names of the present village of

7 Muhamet Tërnavë, *The Albanians in the Dečan Feud in the 30's of the 14th Century according to the Dečan Chrysobull*, Bulletin of the Philosophy Faculty of Prishtina, IX, Prishtina 1974.

8 See Miloš and Milojević, *Dečanske Krisovulje* in Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva, Drugo odeljenje. Knj. XII, Beograd 1880, p. 8.

9 M. Milojević, *ibidem*, p. 72.

10 *Ibidem*, pp. 16, 84.

11 We recall that there is reason to think that the name Šnok is translated as Drugović which is seen in the case of the

Xerxë... inhabitants of Xerxa were: Rajko Ginović and his brother, Rajan and his children, Radeša Tudorović and her children, Ivanša and her children, Malc and Milc and their children, Gale and Radoslav, Perkvo and their children, Brata Gjonović, Budislav Bunkov (a) c, Bojko Mausović and Dragan, Bogoje Tišanović, Dragan and the children, Cipc and the children, Stojko Velijanović and Hranko Glušac.¹²

The presence of the Albanian ethnos in Kosova in the 30's of the 14th century is also proved by the names found in the village of Serosh (which some locate in the region of Dečan keeping in mind the fact that it belonged to the Dečan feud — which is wrong because from the point of view of its name it should be placed in the region of Rahovec where the Serosh village can be found)¹³

inhabitant Priboje Drugović of the region of Plava which is mentioned in 1348 in the chrysobull of St. Dušan, the monastery of St. Arhangel of Prizren (see *Hrisovulja cara Stefana Dušana kojom osniva manastir St. Arhangel Mihaila i Gavrila u Prizrenu 1348*, in *Glasnik društva Srbske Slovenosti*, sveska XV, Beograd 1862, p. 303).

12 «Sačuvana su nam i zanimljiva imena starešina tadašnjih zerzevskih porodica, podanika protopope Prohora, i prvih čuvara dečanskih. To su bili: Rajko Ginović s braćom, Rajan s decom. Ozroje s decom, Kostreva s braćom i decom, Radeša Tudorović s decom, Ivansa s decom, Malac i Milac s decom, Falfej i Radoslav, Kuzma i Semijun, Djurdjič, Bojislav i brat mu Radin, Radoslav i Dobroslav, Prkov s decom, Brata Djonović, Budislav Bukovac, Bojko Mausović i Dragan, Bogoje Tišanović, Dragan s decom Gipac s decom, Stojko Velijanović i Hranko Glušac (pp. 129-130 of the chrysobull — see Rad. M. Grujič, *Lična vlastelinstva srpskih crkvenih pretpostavnika u XIV i XV veku*, in *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva*, III, 1934, p. 63).

13 According to notes we have found later, there is every reason to think that during the 14th century in several church documents the name Serosh included a separate region near Gjakova and not a village or a smaller territorial unit.

where among other inhabitants a «runko a brat mu rad a sin mu hodan a brat mu prenko» and «pribislav a brat mu busat a sin mu dragos»¹⁴ also appear.

There is no doubt that among the inhabitants there are Albanian names and patronyms. Such are the surnames Ginović and Gonović, which prove, on the basis of the logic, that the Albanians had been there without doubt even before 1330, because Rajko who was a head of family was the son of Gjin or of the Gjinis' family, and in the same manner Brata Gjonović. Of this category is the inhabitant Boboje Tisanović in the family name of whom there is every reason to look for the Albanian name. Tish which is found in the present Albanian name Tish and the family name Tishuk. Among the inhabitants of Xerxë at the time of the chrysobull there were some who had Albanian names such as Mal, Mil, Bob which are written with Slavonic suffixes in the chrysobull.

As many scholars have stressed the other inhabitants of this village who do not have Albanian names are not necessarily of a non-Albanian ethnos, but those who have Albanian names, mostly family names, are those among whom the Albanian names have been preserved unconsciously. The possibility of the Albanianization of the Slavonic ethnos is ruled out, because of the economic, religious and historical conditions in which the Albanian ethnos lived during the 13th and 14th centuries.

Another proof of the same nature is found about the village of Sushican of Dukagjin, which is called a Wallachian village where among the inhabitants with Slavonic and Wallachian names, in 1330 in the Dečan chrysobull, a *Smil* and a *Gin* the son *Mojan*¹⁵ emerge, which without doubt is the characteristic Albanian name Gjin, and this is not a unique case. Inhabitants called Wallachian but with Albanian names apart from the Wallachian and Serbian names, are to be found in Wallachian villages of

14 See M. Milojević, *Dečanske Hrisovulje...*, p. 46.

15 Ibidem, p. 122.

Dukagjin. Among them apart from Wallachian names such as Sharban, Shishman, Kercul and the Slavonic names, there are Albanian names such as Lesh, Gjin, Tol etc. . .

From a superficial study of the names of the inhabitants of the Dečan feud it emerges that the Albanian population of that region used the names: Dedë (in Dedosh an inhabitant of Čabić, p. 90) Dode (Dodul — an inhabitant of Gramaçel, p. 84), Balë (Balko and Baloje, inhabitant of Cerrabregu of Dečan, p. 70), Mekë (Mekjav'c, Mekijna, Mejavčik, see pp. 58, 92, 20), Kel (Keljan inhabitant of Doberdol of Klina p. 57), Bob (Bobeta, p. 57), Beb (Bebel, Beben pp. 92, 93), Nikë (Niksha, p. 51) Guribardhë (Guribardhë, p. 21), Miran (p. 6), Mil (Miljak, p. 6, 72), Mirak (p. 48), Milot as Milotić, p. 6, Bel (as Beljanović, etc.), also see place names further on Laduš (p. 38), Gurakuq (Kurikuq, p. 38), Mal (Malja, p. 100), Dosh (p. 100 etc).

The Albanian names of the population of the Dečan feud are Gin (Ranko Ginovic — inhabitant of Prapaqan)¹⁶, Kuqi (in the form of Kučevc — inhabitant of Cabić)¹⁷, Tish (in the form of Tishan — inhabitant of Čabić)¹⁸ Prek Cela (in the form of Prekocel — inhabitant of Strelc)¹⁹, Mil (in the form Milc—inhabitant of Lubenić)*, Curr (in the form Curi — inhabitant of Lebusha)²⁰, Sume (in the form of Sumnja — inhabitant of Rostovica)²¹, Bushat, Kuç, Mal, Prenk (inhabitants of Serosh)²², Sul and Meks (inhabitants of Cabić)²³, and others.

Among names which from the linguistic point of

16 Ibidem, p. 36.

17 Ibidem, p. 89.

18 Ibidem, p. 92.

19 Ibidem, p. 75.

20 Ibidem, p. 78.

21 Ibidem, p. 79.

22 Ibidem, p. 45, 46.

23 Ibidem, pp. 91-92.

view are Albanian is the name Lul, which in the Serbian documents emerges in the Serb form Lulić. The Banjeska chrysobull gives the earliest proof of the presence of this name among the inhabitants of Mediaeval Kosova. In this source of the years 1313-1318 a *Hranoe Lulić* is mentioned as a Wallachian inhabitant of the village of Pijainc.²⁴ We also find the same name later in those regions. It is also mentioned among the inhabitants of an Albanian ethnos in 1455²⁵, whereas Gl. Elezović finds it in the cadastre book of Delvić of the 18th century and identifies it with the family name Lulić of Vushtrica which, according to the author of the dictionary, is one of the most ancient families of that place.

Tol, which is mentioned in 1330 and 1348 is among the names of the Albanian ethnos of the Middle Ages. The Dečan chrysobull of 1330 mentions a Toljislav the brother of Bogoi, Toljislav, the son of Priboji, Toljislav head of family and another Toljislav with his brother Grada and Priboje²⁷. In 1348, on the other hand, in the village of Štavisa of Prizren, which under the Dušan chrysobull was given to the Shën-Mëhill monastery of Prizren, there is a priest Troshan with his two brothers Tolojen and Priboji²⁸. We included the name Toloje among the names of the Albanian ethnos of the Middle Ages on the basis of the fact that in 1385 there were many inhabitants of the Dečan region with that name, and also because their blood ties show that they belonged to the Albanian ethnos, a thing that can also be explained by

24 See Lj. Kovačević, *Svetostefanska hrisovuija, Spomenik* IV, 1890, Beograd pp. 7, 8.

25 See *Oblast Brankoviča*, opširni katastarski popis iz 1455 godine, Sarajevo 1972.

26 See Gliša Elezović, *Rečnik Kosovsko-Metohijskog dijalekta*, I, SKA, Beograd 1934, p. 372.

27 See M. Milojević, *Dečanske hrisovulje...*, p. 6 vv.

28 See S. Novaković, *Selo, Srpska Knjizevna Zadruga*, Beograd 1965 (reprinted), pp. 160-161.

the fact that in these regions to this day people still have the family name Tol, Tolaj.

Another proof of the presence of the Albanian ethnos on the basis of the names can be seen in the name *Bardh* which is also found in 1348 in a letter of Stefan Dušan which acknowledged all the donations of the predecessors and added his own to the Hilendar monastery. In this document in the Prizren region a *bashtina* (garden) of *Bardhi*²⁹ is mentioned.

In the charter of 1355 of czar Dušan with which he proved the property of the monastery of St. Nicholas of Dobrušta among other people who will be in the service of that monastery, is a certain *Gin Beli*³⁰, a name which without doubt is of the sphere of Albanian names. But there is more to it. This should also be considered one of classical examples of the Slavization of the names of the Albanian ethnos. In these names we see, apart from the phonetical Serbian adaption of *Gjin* to *Gin*, the transliteration of *Bardhi* to *Beli*. In this case the Slavization process of the Albanian names is also proved by the Roman variant *Gon Albi* of the same name,³¹ which is an onomastic calque.

The Albanian ethnos is present not only in the town of Prizren, but also in its surroundings (recall *A se arbanasi; katun Ginovci, Katun Mag-jerci, Katun Bellogllavci, Katun Flokovci, Katun Cernca, Katun Caparci, Katun Gonovci, Katun Shpinadinci, Katun Novaci*)³².

Apart from this case Serbian church documents provide facts that prove the presence of that ethnos in the surrounding of Prizren, in the present villages of

29 See Stojan Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici srpski država rednjega veka*, Beograd 1912, p. 423.

30 S. Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici...*, p. 423.

31 Dr. Ludovicus de Thallóczy, Dr. Constantinus Jireček; Dr. Emilianus de Sufflay, *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae Mediae aetatis illustrantia* II, p. 146

32 S. Novaković *Zakonski Spomenici...*, p. 688.

Suhareka. Hence, the committee that had been selected (24 of them) to define the boundaries of the villages of Mamusha and Nistra³³, which in fact consisted in marking out the boundaries of the property of the Hilendar monastery and the St. Archanger monastery of Prizren, was made up of the following persons: *Peiko Gincević* from Reshtan, *Rush Ginović* from Studencan, *Petko Bushat* from Lezhan, *Boshić Mzija* from Bernjak and others.³⁴

For this region we found antroponymic proof of the presence of the Albanian ethnos in sources of this kind also for the present villages *Bllaca*, *Kabash*, *Ngucat*, *Jançishta*, *Kostercan*³⁵ and *Sineja*, *Gullboc* and *Pinushin* (no longer existing), whereas the existence of the toponyms of the Albanian anthroponymic type, during these centuries is proved by the present villages of *Kabash*, *Breza* of Opoja and in the non-existing village of Nistra.

This becomes clear if we recall that among the inhabitants of the present village of Bllaca, called «a Wallachian village», in 1348 among other names there are many with a Slavonic origin: *Doda* and his brother and sons³⁶, *Baljan*, *Beri* and his sons, *Bob* and his sons³⁷,

33 The village of *Nistra*, as can be seen from the text of some letters and chrysobulls which had to do with these regions, was in the region of the present village of Mamusha. *†astrebov* (see *Stara Srbija i Arbanija*, Beograd 1901, p. 62) spoke of this village and he, too, located it in the Mamusha region. This is more convincing after finding in the terrain of Mamusha the microtoponym *Nistra* and traces of a village which has disappeared.

34 *Aleksandër Solovjev*, *Odabrani spomenici srpskog prava*, p. 216.

35 We might have to do with the present village of *Kosterc* of the Suhareka region.

36 See *Hrisovulja cara St. Dušana...*, 1348, ... p. 289.

37 *Ibidem*, p. 291.

Mileshe and *Gonc arbanasi* and their sons³⁸. In the other village (Ngucat) also called «a Wallachian village», the names *Rob* (twice), *Balda*, *Baldovin*³⁹, and others⁴⁰. In the village of *Jančišta* there are individuals with the names *Rog-ja* and *Laloje*. Among the inhabitants of the «Wallachian» village of *Kostercan* appear the names *Ber* and sons, *Bogda Tanušević* and *Poversko Semanović*⁴¹. Here are also mentioned the inhabitants *Tul*, *Bujačin*, *Puloça* and *Osmak*⁴², which must be considered as Albanian names of the Albanian ethnos that have been preserved to this day as family names and personal names. Hence, among this ethnos today we find the patronyms *Tuli*, *Buja*, *Pulaha*, *Pula* and *Smaka* (in all its variants *Smakić*, *Smaković*) etc. For many reasons we are led to think that the inhabitant *Belshut* of the village of *Vermica* of the *Prizren*⁴³ district has an Albanian name which has been preserved to this day only in family names and nicknames. . .

Belonging to the present village of *Sineja* (*Sinainci* of the chrysobull) are also the inhabitants *Pulashça* Gra-

38 Ibidem, p. 292.

39 Ibidem, p. 294.

40 See *Hrisovuija cara Stefana Dušana* koim osniva manastir, pp. 278-279.

41 The toponym *Milesheva Bara* is mentioned in the same chrysobull (See *Hrisovulja cara Stefana Dušana*. . . , p. 291) near the place where this village bordered on the village of *Banje* of *Suhareka*. In that toponym we see the Albanian name *Mil* with the suffix *-esh*, which is an Albanian place name derived from a personal name. Here we see that the suffix *-esh*, about which much has been written (see Prof. A. Xhuvani and Prof. E. Çabej, *The Suffixes of the Albanian Language*, Tirana 1962, pp. 37-38), may be of an Albanian origin, whereas from the point of view of its age it is considered (*Jokl*, for example) of the Roman period of the Albanian language.

42 Ibidem, p. 295.

43 Ibidem, pp. 295-296.

doje and his sons⁴⁴, Baldovin and his brother and sons, Osmak and his brother⁴⁵. In the non-existing village of Pinušinc, also called Wallachian, there are also inhabitants with the names Radosllav Balojević, Dushman⁴⁶ and Gjor Dedojević⁴⁷, in the present village of Gullboc of the region of Llapusha (in the chrysobull Golubovc), among others the inhabitants Milesh and Malc⁴⁸ are mentioned, whereas among the people who were charged to bring things to the monastery are Sokol⁴⁹, Sukijanović, Kosta Gonshin and Lalzin and his brother Ndreu (in the chrysobull Andrea) and the son-in-law Koloja⁵⁰.

All the names we mention are considered as Albanian names of the Albanian ethnos. We think that in this category should be included the names *Doda*, *Bala*, *Ber-an*, *Bob*, *Bala*, *Dushman*, *Deda*, *Mil*, *Mal*, *Soko*⁵¹, *Gjon* and

44 Ibidem, p. 296.

45 Ibidem, pp. 298-299.

46 Ibidem, p. 293.

47 Ibidem, p. 309.

48 The anthroponym *Mal*, which is written in the Serbian church documents in the form of *Malc*, is one of the most widely used names of the Albanian ethnos. We find traces of its use in the southern regions of Albania, too, and especially, among the Albanians who have settled in regions of Greece where it emerges in the form *Māzcas*.

We have found proof of the use of this name among the Albanian ethnos in the microtoponymy of Kosova. For illustration we shall mention the microtoponym *Guri Mal Kukës* which we found in Kabash of the Prizren region.

49 The anthroponym *Sokol* exists to this day among the Albanian names. We recall that this name should be considered an Albanian name accepted during the Middle Ages under the influence of the Slavonic Orthodox Church.

50 See note 49.

51 The name *Bushat* is one of the typical Albanian personal names. The fact that this name is found in a place name gives us the right to say that the Albanian ethnos had been

Lala, although nearly all these names have a Slavonic sound and have entirely entered (in their written form) in the system of the Slavonic names.

From the field of place names, especially those derived from personal names, we shall mention the place names *Rudina e Leshit* which neighboured on Busina, which was situated near the St. Peter monastery of Korisht⁵², then the place name *Shpija e Bushatit*⁵³, in the territory of the village of Breza of Opoja, and Kroi Kulkalit⁵⁴ on the territory of the no longer existing village of Nistra, bordering on the present village of Mamusha of the Prizren region. It is self-evident that these place names bear the Albanian personal names *Llesh*, *Bushat* and *Kokal* which have often been found, especially the latter, during the 16th and 17th centuries in those regions.⁵⁵

The examples which prove the existence of the Albanian ethnos during the 14th century are more abundant. Thus, for example, in the chrysobull of Stefan Dušan, with which he founded the monastery of the saints Michael and Gabriel of Prizren, he mentioned, among the properties and people who made donations to the monastery, those with such names the linguistic belonging and per-

in these regions much earlier than the time when the name was registered... (*Hrisovulja*..., p. 284).

The quotation of p. 284 of the *Hrisovulja* proves without doubt that the place called the Shtëpija e Bushatit (Bushat's House) was in the region of the present village of Vukovc of the Llapushnik zone, present-day *Gradina*, which is recorded in the chrysobull as *Gradishta*.

52 This opinion is also supported by Jastrebov, see *Stara Srbija i Arbanija*, p. 72.

53 See *Hrisovulja cara Dušana*... p. 278, *ibid.* p. 297.

54 «Monumenta Servica»..., p. 86.

55 See Selami Pulaha, *The Northeastern Regions of the Dukagjin Sandjak*. «Albanological Investigations», historical series, Prishtina p. 197.

haps ethnic belonging of whom was undoubtedly Albanian. Most interesting here is the fact that there were inhabitants with names from the sphere of the Albanian anthroponymy in the town of Prizren itself. The chrysobull mentions for example a *Lesh Vorbētari*, a *Gjon*, a *Novak Peci*, a *Gjin Rakoča*, a *Pribisllav Qyteti* and a *Leshko*, the son of *Leshi*⁵⁶. In *Diversa e Libris debitorum* of Raguza, we find that *Liepur de Presreno*, *Lumasius* and *Vognus Jovanović* were three debtors to Raguza in 1369. There is no doubt that the first name must be considered of the sphere of the Albanian names; here we find the Albanian noun *lepur* (hare) in the nickname *Le-pur* in the second the patronym *Lumi* — *Lumasi*, whereas in the third, as Jireček points out, the Albanian name *Gjon*⁵⁷.

Another testimony of the presence of the Albanian ethnos in Kosova during the 14th century, even in its lowland areas is a letter of Countess Milica written in 1395. She and her sons had been requested by a superior of Hrusija of Hilendar to define the disputable boundary of the villages *Silovije*, *Dobra* and *Suhadoll*, upon which 8 old men were appointed: *Radollav Oparac* and *Ivanko*, the brother of *Lesh* from *Gračanica*, *Peter Golklas* and *Bogosllav Nenojević* from *Livagja*, *Bogdan Kikić* and *Bogdan Mihović* from *Surćin* (*Sverćin*), *David Hropina* and *Bozhić Dobrenović* from *Lypian*⁵⁸. There is nearly no doubt that among these old men there were some of the Albanian ethnos among whom *Ivanko* — the brother of

56 S. Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici*... , p. 684.

57 Voynus Jovanich (arb. Gion-Jovan) (see *Istorija Serba II*, p. 178, note 3). We add for illustration that an inhabitant of the Bunjan village of the Dečan monastery — today in the PSRA, was called *Lumsha* (see M. Milojević, *Dečanske Hrisovulje*, p. 109.)

58 See Rad M. Grujić, *Gusari na Svetoj Gori i Hilendarski birg Hrusija od XII-XIV veka*, Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva XIV, 1934, p. 30; S. Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici*... , p. 490.

Lesh⁵⁹, is indisputable. As we can see from the names there are among them such inhabitants as Oporac, Petar Goklas, Bogdan Kikić — whose names are outside the linguistic sphere of Slavonic, such as the first two, for example; there are among them such names that have been preserved to our days among the Albanians such as the patronym Kika, Kikaj, Nikoll, the third inhabitant. Another more ancient proof of the presence of the Albanian anthroponym in the Kosova plain is the charter of the Gračanica monastery of 1321.

Among the names mentioned in it, which were also used by the Albanians, was that of a woman who, together with the others, is called a Wallachian. Her name does not appear in the charter, but she is put down as the «wife of Gonkin»⁶⁰. There is good reason to look for the name Gon with a diminutive suffix added to it *-ko*, the name Gon in the form Gonik.

We are right to consider the name Gonko of the same category; it was the name of the brother of the ruler Uglesha⁶¹ who died in 1371 in the Marica⁶² battle, and the name Gormir⁶³, one of the inhabitants of the

59 Rad M. Grujić, *Gusari* . . . , p. 490.

60 «... Gonik, medju vlasima koj kralj Milutin dao episkopiji tjipljanskoj bila je i Gonkina žena (see Djuro Daničić, *Rječnik iz starina srpskih*, I. Beograd 1863, p. 215).

61 It is clear that the name Uglesha is a compound word of the type name + name, which was formed after the long use of two names *Ukë* and *Lesh* in close proximity. This opinion is also supported by the fact that this name has no meaning. It cannot be analysed by means of the Serbian lexic (see S. Pulaha, *The Albanian Element according to the Onomastics of the Regions of the Shkodra Sandjak in the Years 1485-1582* «Historical Studies», 1/1972.)

62 Gonko, brat Vukašna Kralja (see Daničić, *Rječnik* . . . , I. p. 215).

63 This case is perhaps one of the examples which shows the way of phonetical adaptation of the Slavonic anthroponymic

present village of Čabić in the Llapusha region, whom Stefan Uroš (Dečanski) gave for a Serb *sokolar* Greek, *Gerekar*, in 1330. This Albanian name was widespread during the 14th century. Apart from the Slavonized forms *Gonmir*, *Gonik*, *Gonkin*, *Gonce*, *Gonsav*,⁶⁴ we find it among females, too. Thus the wife of vojvoda Radić San-ković was called Gonsava.⁶⁵

A toponym of this type is found in the chrysobull of Dečan of the year 1330, in which a small territory with the name Lesh is mentioned. The place called «*Truallishta e Leshit*»⁶⁶ was in the region of the Modra Sllatina which was a winter settlement in the Drin valley of the Gjakova region in the present region of Has of Gjakova, which in the written documents of that period is written Patkovo.

The fact that this name is found in a place name which, at that time, was a small territory, also gives rise to the opinion that that name was in use before 1330.

For illustration we add that the personal name Lesh is found in 1348 in a place name, Leshev Doll, which marked the boundaries of the village of Klisha (today Kishoj) of northern Albania.⁶⁷

Apart from an anthroponym, the name Lesh is also used in microtoponyms in the Middle Ages in the Prizren region and in other regions inhabited by Albanians in this century. In the Dečan chrysobull of 1348 a toponym *Rudina e Leshit*⁶⁸ is mentioned somewhere near the

system of the non-Slavonic names (see Daničić, *Rječnik...*, I, p. 215).

64 For the latter see Daničić, *Rječnik...* I, p. 215.

65 Ibidem, p. 215.

66 See M. Milojević, *Dečanske hrisovulje...*, p. 128.

67 Ibidem, p. 283.

68 *Rudina e Leshit* is perhaps the place that Daničić, C. *Rječnik...*, II, p. 32 defined on the basis of the testimony published in *Glas SKA*, XV, as the border of the present village

Ostrovica mountain of the Prizren region.⁶⁹ On the other hand, the same chrysobull mentions the territory of Gjon Bardhi⁷⁰. In another charter of Dušan, in that of 1327, another microtoponym Llazi i Tanushit⁷¹ is mentioned. Without doubt this is a toponym of the anthroponymic type used in the Albanian anthroponym Tanush. The toponym *territory of Koman*, a place in the Prizren region⁷² which together with the village of Izbisht of that region were donated by king Stefan Uroš to the monastery of Hilendar in 1327, should be included here. There is no doubt that this toponym of the anthroponymic type preserves in itself the Albanian anthroponym Koman in the function of a patronym Koman.

The question of the presence of the Albanian ethnos on the basis of the onomastic material in the region of Mitrovica, Shala and Bajgora and the surroundings of Prishtina makes up a separate chapter.

Onomastic material on this region in the 14th century is taken mainly from the chrysobull of Saint Stefan, which is best known by its popular name Banjska chrysobull of Krajl Milutin in 1313-1318⁷³.

As far as the onomastic material is concerned, here only personal names of those who have been described as Wallachian have been given, among whom without doubt there are Albanian names because, as we have often pointed out, «Wallachian» is not used to denote a specific ethnic meaning, but is in the first place a synonym for the word shepherd, although in some cases,

of Mushtisht. We add here that we have discovered some microtonyms which preserve the name *Lesh*.

69 S. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici...*, p. 688.

70 S. Novaković, *Selo*, p. 114.

71 Ibidem, p. 123.

72 S. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici...*, p. 396.

73 See Lj. Kovačević, *Svetostefanska Hrisovulja*, Spomenik Srpske Kraljevske Akademije IV, Beograd 1890, pp. 3-8.

as from the analysis of their linguistic belonging they may be Wallachians as well.

In the following we shall list some of the names which do not seem to belong to the Wallachian language, but Albanian language. Thus, among the inhabitants of the *Pijainc* village are mentioned: *Hranisllav*, *Makjerovik*, *Voihna Boik*, *Voihna Dobrodevik*, *Desisllav*, *Vlla Dimirik*, *Baldovin Maç'kat* and *Koman*,⁷⁴ where we do not find Albanian names in common use, but traces of them, which emerge among the Albanians as patronyms and ethnonyms. Hence these names can be found preserved among the Albanians (without any geographical continuity with the places where they are mentioned) such as *Magjeri*, *Boiq*, *Deva*, *Desku*, *Maceta*, *Maketa* and *Koman*.

In the other «Wallachian» village, *Sishatovc*, we find such names as *Ninoje*, *Muzak*, *Balin*, *Bunisllav*, *Baloje*, *Balin*, *Bunillo*, *Dedoje*⁷⁵ where there is every reason to seek for the Albanian names *Nino*, *Balë* (despite the forms they have assumed under the influence of the Slavonic diminutive suffixes: *Balin*, *Baloje*, *Baljosllav*), *Bun* (with all the Slavonic forms it has assumed: *Bunillo*, *Bunisllav*, *Bunisha*) *Muzakë* and *Dedë*. An inhabitant called *Dedoje* is found in the «katun» *bëllgarski* (today the Albanian *Bugariq*, Serbian *Serbobran*).

Among the Wallachians of the *Bareljevski*^{75a} village

⁷⁴ Ibidem, p. 7.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, p. 7.

^{75a} On the basis of the work we have done in the terrain we support the opinion that all were wrong who identified *katun Bareljevski* of the *Banjska chrysobull* of the years 1313-1318 with the present village of *Borileva* of the surroundings of *Prishtina*. On the basis of the presence of the oronym *Barel* in *Shala*, as well as many toponyms of the type *Katun* and *Katunishtë* the geographical order of the place names and the property of this monastery, as well as in some other districts, we identified this mediaeval village as *Bajgora* with its pasture highlands (and four other villages of *Shala*).

perhaps of the Shala region, mentioned in this chrysobull, there are also inhabitants with the names: *Bunisllav*, *Kumanic*, *Bunisha*, *Desimir*, *Balë* and *Tol'cin*⁷⁶, which may, with good reason, be read as *Balë*, *Bun*, *Tol* and *Koman*, in the Slavonic form. Whereas among the «Wallachians» of the *Bobojevc* village the following names are mentioned: *Toloje*, *Dedoje* and *Shevel*⁷⁷, in which we see the Albanian names *Tol* and *Dedë* and the name preserved by the Albanians in the form of *Shavell*. In the *Voisilc* village we find the antroponym *Ber'ce*⁷⁸ where we see the Albanian name *Ber* preserved today only as a patronym *Beran*.

This chrysobull provides toponymic data in favour of the presence of the Albanians in the present region of Llapusha of the Kosova plateau and of the district of Vushtrica, in particular.

When marking out the boundary of the present village of Kieve of Llapusha, among other places which bordered this village there is a stream called *Reg-jevski studen'c*. Today the Rigjeve quarter of the village of Gallareve exists there, hence there is no doubt that we have to do with the Mediaeval name *Regj-Reç* — one of the widespread Albanian names. . .

A toponym of the anthroponymic type has also been found in this chrysobull for the district of Istog. Here it is mentioned that the boundary of the Osojan village, apart from other places, was made up of a *Preka cesta Kucevska* where we can see the Albanian name *Kuç* preserved in the *Kuçi*⁷⁹ phrateria, in the region of Montenegro today, whereas in Kosova we find it in the function of the name of the *Kuçi* family. If this etymology and comparison is considered adequate, I remind that up to now we have failed to take it into consideration.

76 Ibidem, p. 8.

77 Ibidem, p. 8.

78 Ibidem, p. 9.

79 Lj. Kovačević, *Svetostefanska hrisovulja* . . . , p. 3.

but it should serve to analyse the place, the emergence and the spread of the Kuç family.^{79a}

Among incontestable toponyms of the anthroponymic type belonging to the Albanian ethnos and language is the toponym *Muzakjev kusht* found in the chrysobull, it was the boundary of the present village of Strofc of the Vushtria region which in this document is called Strelle⁸⁰. There is no doubt that this toponym must be

79a On the basis of the fact that this Albanian personal name is found in all the place inhabited by Albanians during the Middle Ages to our days, we may rightly consider it to be pan-Albanian. We find this name among the Albanians in Greece, where it emerges in the form of *Mousakas* as a surname of the Albanians of Skiathos (see Titos Johales, *Considerazioni sull'onomastica e toponomastica albanese in Grecia*, «Balkan Studies», Biannual Publication of the Institute for Balkan Studies, vol. 17, no. 2, Thesaloniki 1976, p. 314.).

The testimony in which the Kuçi phraterie of the region of Montenegro is mentioned, belongs to the 14th century. There is no doubt that the name of this phraterie and, later, the village of the same name, has the Albanian name Kuç as its basis. T. Johalas (ibid. p. 314) and Idriz Ajeti (see *Contribution on the Study of Onomastics in the Middle Ages in the Territory of Montenegro, Bosnia and Hercegovina and Kosova*, «Albanological Investigations», series of philological sciences, IV/1974, Priština 1975, p. 11) give it as a noun derived from the Albanian adjective *kuq* (red), but the etymology of the toponym Kuç should not be made on the basis of the place name, because this place name has not come from the appellative, but from the personal name. If this is right then the opinion that the place name Kuç is derived from red land, is not right. The correct etymological analysis of the toponym Kuç can be made on the basis of the personal name Kuç, the semantic value of which may be closer to the Albanian adjective *kuq* (red) in analogy with the *bardh* (white), as in the anthroponym and patronym Bardha-aj.

80 See Lj. Kovačević, *St. Hrisovulja...*

sought for in the Albanian anthroponym *Muzakë* often found in written documents and known also because of the Albanian feudal house of the Muzakas.⁸¹

The presence of the Albanians in these regions, approximately in the present village of Vinarc of the district of Mitrovica, is proved by the personal name Dukë, which is found in a letter of countess Milica in 1395 with which she and her sons donated the monastery of Saint Pantelejmon some property and she mentioned that the noble man Dukë gave the village of Vinarc of present-day Mitrovica⁸² as a donation to this monastery.

Although from the etymological point of view we shall treat the Albanian toponymy of Mediaeval Kosova and the other regions inhabited by Albanians separately, here we must point out that among places which formed the boundary of the Mediaeval village of Trepce was that of *Ambul*⁸³. We recall that, although for toponyms of this type opinions have been expressed pro and against the Albanian etymology⁸⁴, the Albanian adjective *ambël*

81 Although the question of the identification of toponyms on the terrain and the question of the anthroponymic and patronymic continuity will be treated separately, we shall only mention that not far from the place where the *Muzakjev Kusht* toponym is mentioned in the Middle Ages, a family *Muzaka* (today called Muzaq) still exists; this family lives between the village Toraxha and Jezer of the region of Vushtria. This is one of the cases which proves the territorial patronymic continuity of the Albanians in these regions.

82 S. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici...*, p. 519.

83 Lj. Kovačević, *Svetostefanska Hrisobulja...*, p. 3.

84 Treating the etymology of the word *ambël*, Prof. E. Çabej in *About Some Questions of the History of the Albanian Language*, in the «Bulletin of the State University of Tirana», series of social sciences, 3/1963, p. 72 and in *Studies on the Etymology of the Albanian Language*, in the «Bulletin of the State University of Tirana», 4/1960, p. 25 held that the two

(sweet) should be seen in this toponym. This moment has its importance for the history of the consonant groups of the Albanian language. Here we shall add that in this chrysobull there is also some other toponym of the anthroponymic type which has an Albanian name or is found among the Albanians. This is the case of the toponym *Sumegnica* which, according to this chrysobull, was formerly a separate village or the microtoponym in a village. It was one of the points which delimited the Osojan village of the region of Istog, but first it should be sought for in the region of the Tucep⁸⁵ village.

This place name, which in 1485⁸⁶ is called a territory, had in itself one of the characteristic Albanian names Sumë.

The presence of the Albanians during the 13th-14th centuries proved in short and with few examples from onomastics, can be completed with proofs that emerge from orders and requests of the Serbian rulers in their charters and chrysobulls.

Such elements can be found in present-day Montenegro since 1280. At that time Queen Helena gave some lands to the monastery of Shën-Koll of Vranina and forbade all big or small gentry and all the local rulers, be they Serbian, Latin, Albanian or Wallachian⁸⁷, to use them; whereas 80 years before, according to Miklosić (or 40 according to Novaković), Vlladisllav, in a letter by which he donated some lands and gave privileges to the monastery of Shën-Koll of Vranina in 1424, mentions the Albanians, whom he forbids to use those lands as winter pastures.⁸⁸

names *Ombla* and *Bulenta de Ombla* contain the Albanian adjective *i (e) ambël*.

85 Ibidem, p. 3.

86 See Selami Pulaha, *Registration Book of the Shkodra Sandjak of 1485*, p. 325.

87 S. Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici...*, p. 579.

88 Ibidem, p. 578.

The presence of the Albanians in the region of Tivar and perhaps in Tivar itself during the 14th century is proved in the chrysobull of tzar Stefan Dušan with which he founded the monastery of the Saints Michael and Gabriel in Prizren, and by the strength of this chrysobull gave some property and conceded feudal rights upon it. In that chrysobull it is said «And all of my imperial income Tivar Akrostik of 100 perper I give to the Tivar people and they are to give the church ten loads of oil in 14 stare (measures), which should be carried thence by the Albanians.»⁸⁹

On the other hand, in his chrysobull of Dečan, Stefan Dušan orders that all the Albanians and Wallachians should take salt to st. Serge's church⁹⁰, whereas in another charter, that to the monastery of st. Michael of Prizren of 1358, he ordered the Albanians to go to church to work like the Serbs and pay the tithes⁹¹. Proof of this kind is found also in the chrysobull of Dečan (1330), according to which the Albanians were prohibited from exploiting the mountains that the ruler had given the monastery of Dečan, and this prohibition covered all the highlands of Altin (of the district of Altun-Ili)⁹².

This region is also mentioned in a letter of Stefan Uroš III, alias Stefan Dečanski, who donated to the monastery of Dečan «...apart from those villages, also the Wallachian and Albanian villages...»

Among such facts we should mention one which is found in a charter of Stefan Dušan which said that he gave different rights and privileges to Hilendar in

89 See *Selected sources on the history of Albania*, II (8th-15th century), State University of Tirana, Institute of History and Linguistics, Tirana 1962, p. 101.

90 S. Novaković, *Zak. spom.*, p. 578.

91 Ibidem, p. 697.

92 M. Milojević, *Dečanske Hrisovulje...*, p. 127, *Zakonski spomenici...*, p. 647.

1355. Following this Dušan sent his forces to evacuate Krushić and Llapceva of the present region of Llapush (Prekorupe)^{92a} of their inhabitants and define the mountain boundaries of the church in Ponorc. These places, according to the charter, were property of the church, therefore Dušan prohibited all big and small gentry, the Wallachians and the Albanians, to graze their sheep in those meadows. Another such fact, which has to do with payment of the tithes on agricultural products by the Albanian population, is found in documents of the year 1355. In this charter, with which he gave property and privileges to the monastery of Hilendar, apart from other things, Dušan prohibited the Albanians too to graze their sheep in the meadow of the church of Ponorc, Krušćice and Llapceva (see above) and ordered that this population pay the customs duties on the wine it sold on the Knici market (present-day, Klinavc)⁹³. The fact that this population paid one tenth of the wine shows that vineyards were grown in those regions, and this in turn speaks of the fact that such a pursuit is not in the nature of a nomadic shepherd population, a thing that speaks in favour of the presence of Albanians in those regions even before the 14th century, to which this source refers.

Another testimony of the presence of the Albanians in the Prizren region can also be found in 1355 in the charter of tzar Stefan Dušan by which he confirms Hilendar in possession of part of the monastery of St. Peter of Korisht.⁹⁴ In this charter the Albanians are prohibited from grazing their sheep in the property of that monastery.⁹⁵ There is mention of a case in which Albanians were fined for the breach of such order by

92a S. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, p. 430.

93 S. Novaković, *ibidem*, p. 430.

94 See A. V. Solovjev, *Dva priloga proučavanju Dušanove države*, Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva, II, 1-2, 1927, p. 28.

95 *Ibidem*, p. 28.

300 rams.⁹⁶ This fact perhaps has to do with the localities mentioned above as Albanian villages (*Caparci, Magjerci, Gonovci, Ginovci, Flokovci, Shpinadija, Bellogllavci, Novaci, Černča* etc.)⁹⁷.

Other data from the Serbian church sources, which indirectly prove the presence of the Albanians in Kosova and other regions inhabited by Albanians, are those which have to do with an ethnos which in these sources is called «Latin». The opinion that we have to do with Albanians even when they are called «Latins», is enforced by a charter of countess Mara V. Branković and her sons, Grigor, Gjergj and Lazar, of 1306, in which she donates a hospital of Hilendar the income from the Hoça market. Here it is defined that whoever comes to this market, being Serbian, Latin or Turk, should pay the market tax⁹⁸. There is, in fact, no doubt that the word «Latin» here is used to denote the ethnos «arabanas». From this as we shall see below, it emerges that in Serbian church sources the word «Latin» also had the meaning «Catholic». That the word «Latin» also means «Catholic» in these charters can be proved by another charter of Stefan Dušan in 1349, which he gives the Ragusians trade privileges⁹⁹, a stand which is repeated in a charter of 1357 tzar Stefan Uroš¹⁰⁰.

We find this present also in the charter of 1280 of Queen Helena, with which she donated property to the monastery of St. Nicholas of Vranina and instructed that it should be inviolable by any noblemen, whether Serbian, Latin, Albanian or Valachian.¹⁰¹ There is reason to suppose that the attribute «Arbanas» or perhaps «Greek» is given to the Albanian Orthodox population,

96 Ibidem, p. 28.

97 S. Novaković, ibidem, p. 688.

98 Ibidem, p. 28.

99 Ibidem, p. 170.

100 Ibidem, p. 180.

101 See note 92.

The 2nd paragraph of the letter in which the people donated to the monastery are *Gen Voglić*, and his brother, *Domink*¹⁰², *Salkut* and his brother, *Bardona* and his children the *Maršenovići* and the *Kernić*¹⁰³ shows that the names *Domnik*, *Salkut*, *Bardon* may have sounded to the Slavs as Latin and on this basis they called them Latins.

Another proof that the Albanian catholics were called «Latin» is found in the chrysobull of King Stefan Uroš II who in 1300 ordered that the Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, Latins, Albanians or Valachians must regularly pay the taxes both in Tetova and Gracanica.¹⁰⁴

In a charter of King Stefan Dečanski whereby he granted privileges to the Prizren bishopric in Levisha, it is said that all, Latins or Greeks, must go to the fair¹⁰⁵. This is perhaps the best proof which shows that the notion of ethnic identity was not clear and that, as in this case, the Albanian catholics were called «Latin» and the Albanian orthodox «Greek». This is the more so as in Kosova, at the time the letter was written, there were no Latins or Greeks (*proprie dicti*) which had to be specifically mentioned. This is shown, for example, by a charter of Dušan according to which the income from the Latins must be given to the Church¹⁰⁶, which not only proves that the Latins were Albanian catholics but

102 That the anthroponym *Dminko*, *Damiko* was an Albanian name in the 13th-14th century is best proved by the names of the inhabitants of the locality «Katun Arbanasa» situated in the region of the present village of Xerxa. Here figure Albanians with names or surnames like *Dminko*, *Daminko*, *Dominko*: *dminko* (*i leš s bratom*), *dminko s detiju*, *dminko s detju* who are mentioned in 1330 (see *Dečanske Hrisovulje*, p. 55).

103. See note 128.

104 S. Novaković, *Zak. spom.*

105 Ibidem, p. 640.

106 Ibidem, p. 698.

also that they were despised and pressure was exercised to turn them orthodox.

The name «Latin» in the 14th century was applied to non-Orthodox Christians, those of Catholic religion. Going by the place where they are mentioned it is clear that they were Albanians, as in the case of the inhabitants of the village of Shikaj¹⁰⁷ (Shiklja in the chrysobull) who were without doubt Albanians.

The geographical extension of the «Latin» population (the Shkodra Lake, Vranina, Tetova, Shkup, Prizren and later Mitrovica, Vushtrria, Podieva, Novobërda, Gjilan, etc.) shows best that the attribute «Latin» was given to that part of the Albanians who resisted Orthodox assimilation. These regions are known to have been populated by a non-Slav Illyrian (Dardan) population, which was Romanized before the immigration of the Slav tribes.

During those centuries the Albanians figure with Slav names, and there are only few traces of a formerly existing Albanian antroponymic system. In these sources Albanian names figure with Slavonic suffixes -ić (Lulić, Volić); -slav Toljislav; -oje: Toloje, etc. However, Albanian names also appear such as: *Dukë, Gjon, Gjin* (the latter as *Gen, Gin* and *Gon*) *Lesh, Tuz, Bardh, Sumë, Vogël, Mataguzh, Progon, Kuç, Perenk, Bushat, Mal, Mil, Tanush, Kiman, Dedë, Dodë, Kokal.*

The names which figure in the document of the Serbian Church prove incontestably that during the 13th-14th centuries in the region of Montenegro (Orahovo, Vranina, near Cetina), in Macedonia (the district of *Shkup, Shtip*, the highlands of Tetova and Tetova itself) and in Kosova (*Bjeshkët e Nemuna, Dečan, Prizren, Suharekë*, and its surroundings), in the present regions of Llapusha (*Percevel, Llapceve, Pogradjë and Krushqicë. Cabiç*) in the Kosova Plateau (*Gračanicë*) and in the

107 *Hrisovulja*... , p. 287.

region of Mitrovica (Vinarc) there were people with Albanian names.

Apart from the onomastic (antroponymic) material with the frequently repeated names of *Gjon*, *Gjin*, *Lul*, *Llesh*, *Bardh*, *Progon*, *Mal*, *Bujak*, *Vogël*, *Tol*, *Pec*, *Nino*, *Bushat*, *Shok*, *Bukur*, *Prenk*, *Tuz*, *Dukë*, the presence of the Albanians during the 13th-14th centuries in the regions still inhabited by Albanians is also proved by the donation acts in which the Albanians are also mentioned.

In these documents the Albanians emerge not only as shepherds. Among them are also noblemen such as the noblemen *Duka of Shala of Bajgora*, for example, who in 1395 donated the present village of Vinarc of that region to the monastery of Hilendar, *Lady Mara* with her son *Gjergj Mazrreku*¹⁰⁸ (see further on), whereas the Albanians of the present region of Llapusha (Prekorupa) also had to pay tithes on vineyards and wine, which could not be done by a nomadic population, but only one with an agricultural tradition in our case, viticulture. The Albanians of the region of Prizren also had to pay tithes on honey and wax which could by no means be expected from a nomadic population.

One thing that emerges clearly in these documents is that the word «Wallachian» did not always have to mean the Wallachian, but was very often a synonym for the shepherd. This is proved in the case of the village Sushican of the region of Dečan, which is called Valachian and in which Albanian names are found.

That the word «Valachian» of the documents of the Serb church does not mean Valachian population is seen from the names of people mentioned at the beginning of the 15th century or even in the 13th century: «*Vlach de catuno Druschovich (1404); Bocdanus Tollanovich de catuno Sottovich (1313)... Vlachus de cathono*

¹⁰⁸ See our study *The Presence of the Albanians in the Region of Gallap*.

Burmas, Vlachus de cathono Radoslavi Xurovich (1404), etc. where it is clear that the adjective is put before purely Albanian place names, like *Shota, Burrmadh* and *Zhur*...¹⁰⁹



The presence of the Albanians outside Kosova can be traced as early as the 14th century not only in the region of Vranina of present Montenegro (see above) but also in the region of Tetova. It is seen in the charter of King Uroš II of the year 1300, in which he restored the monastery of St. John in Shkup and ordered that whoever came to the market in this town, whether Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian, Latin, Albanian or Wallachian must pay the dues both in Tetova and Gračanice¹¹⁰, or in a charter of Stefan Dušan in 1337 in which he restored the church of Tetova and donated it some villages, as well as the Nanov Dol highlands, barring everyone, the Albanians included, from grazing their sheep in these highlands¹¹¹. Another proof of this is found in the first half of the 14th century in a charter of King Milutin of Serbia, who among other people he donated to the church of St. Archangel of Shtip and the Hilendar Monastery mentions a certain Gergo Kovač¹¹². In the

109 See Mihailo Dinić, *Dubrovačka srednjovekovna karavanska trgovina*, Jugoslovenski Istorijski Casopis, 1-4, Ljubljana-Zagreb-Beograd 1937, pp. 134-135, note 15.

110 See note 104.

111 S. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*..., p. 660.

112 See Dj. Daničić, *Rječnik*..., I. 205, «Među ljudima u Stipu koje je kralj Milutin dao Crkvi arhandelovskoj u Stipu priloživši je Hilendaru bio je...»

same source, a certain Gerdovica¹¹³ is mentioned in the same context. The presence of the Albanians in Tetova and north western Macedonia is also proved by a number of Turkish census of property and population among which also that of 1455. Hence in a Turkish register¹¹⁴ we find in the village of Leunovo of north western Macedonia in 1455 a *Gon siromah*¹¹⁵, a Nikolla Arnaut and a Martin Arbanas. In the first half of the 15th century a quarter of Kërçova was called the quarter of the *Arnaut* and an inhabitant of the village of Bogde of Upper Reka is called *Nikola Ishklav* (Shkllav) — *shkla* being the Albanian name for a non-Albanian¹¹⁶. From these few onomastic data, although not all the onomastic material of the Turkish books of that region has yet been transcribed, it emerges that the Albanians were present in those regions, which is also proved in part by the toponymy of that region.

The presence of the Albanians in the region of Tetova, and perhaps in Tetova itself, can also be inferred from the few names recorded in a register of the monastery of St. Mary of Tetova which is supposed to have been held about the year 1346¹¹⁷. Here it is said that a contested property is either of *Progon* or of the church, as this property had formerly belonged to the church, but

113 We draw attention to the latter name. Here the question must be about a widow, the wife of a certain *Gjergji* (*Gergi*). Here we want to stress that the woman's calling herself according to her husband's name (for example, Ahmetica, Stefanica, etc.) is characteristic to this day of the Albanians of Macedonia — mainly Tetova, Kërçova, and perhaps of all the southern regions of Yugoslavia, inhabited by Albanians.

114 See Galaba Palikruševa, Aleksander Stojanovski, *Etničkite priliki vo severozapadna Makedonija vo XV vek*, Jugoslovenski Istorijски Casopis, 1-2, 1970, p. 35.

115 Ibidem, p. 39.

116 Ibidem, p. 37.

117 A. V. Solovjev, *Jedna srpska župa za vreme carstva*, Glas-

was held by four brothers, two of whom had apparently sold part of the land to *Progon*, whereas a field in a place called *Leshtie* had been donated to the church by a certain *Pardo Kir Theodori* to save his soul. Here we have the Albanian names *Progon and Bardh Pard* — names which are often found in the documents of the time, as well as a Hellenized Albanian name. On the other hand in the name *Bale* attributed to a mill (the *Mill of Bala*) which was donated to the church we find the Albanian name *Balë*¹¹⁸.

Apart from the region of Tetova, the presence of the Albanian during the 14th century in present-day Macedonia is proved also near the region of Shtip in 1350. This emerges from a charter of Stefan Dušan whereby he donates a nobleman *Ivanko* a church and serfs among which is mentioned a *Gin Arbanasi*¹¹⁹ as *bashtina* property.



We find the earliest evidence of the presence of the Albanians in the region of the present-day Montenegro in 1222-1223, in a charter of King Stefan who donated property and people to the monastery of Zhica. Among the people called «Wallachians» there are Doda and Tus. (Tuz).¹²⁰ Fr. Safarik ¹²¹ gives more precise information:

nik Skopskog naučnog društva, III, 1928, pp. 31-32.

118 A. V. Solovjev, *Odabrani Spomenici Srpskog Prava*, p. 130, ibidem, p. 132.

119 S. Novaković, *Zak. Spom.* p. 306.

120 See Fr. Miklosich, *Monumenta serbica...*, p. 62.

121 See Pamatky dněvního pisemnictivi Jihoslovanov, Dil predechozi, sebral a vydal Pavel Josif Safarik, Vydání druhé. Dapli-siky z pozůstalnosti šafarikovy ražmnožené, upravil Josef Jireček, V. Praze, 1893, p. 7.

Doda ... Bukor ... Tusi and his mother *Gripon*, *Prodan*, *Sharban*, *Dedal*, etc. A. Solovjev¹²² gives a broader list. Among others, there are people called *Batin*, *Gerdosh*, *Bun*, *Beril*, *Tihoc*, *Kuman*, *Gragush*, *Çuç*, *But*, *Turjak*, *Buç*, *Proda*, *Bukor* (many of them), *Bala*, *Milc*, *Poneg*, *Rug*, *Begot*, *Golk*, *Doda*, *Dedol*, the widow *Dragusha* and *Tuzi* and his mother, *Sharban*, *Gun*, *Hodisha*¹²³. Among those names there are many which are used by the Albanians to this day (for example *Bun*, *Koman*, *Mica*, *Balë*, *Dolë*, *Buta*, and others), or family names (*Berila*, *Tihoç*, *Bega*, *Rugova*), or toponyms of *Kolova* such as *Çyçylagë*, *Turjakë*, *Sharban*, *Ngucat*¹²⁴.

Another document which proves the presence of the Albanians is a character of King Milutin whereby he donates to the monastery of Vranina the village of Orohovo in the present-day Montenegro, and together with it, a certain *Vasil* and his children from *Arbanasi*¹²⁵.

122 A. V. Solovjev, *Odabrani Spomenici: ...*, pp. 19-20.

123 See Památky drevního písemnictví Jihoslovauv, Díl předchozí, sebral a vydal Pavel Josifi Safarik, Vydání druhé, Daplosiky z pozůstalosti Safarinovy rozmnožene, upravil Josef Jireček, V. Praze, 1873, p. 7.

124 Treating some toponyms of the territory of Kosova in the etymological aspect, Skok stresses that this toponym seemed to him etymologically Wallachian but he does not go into further detail.

We recall that etymologically this toponym is of the anthroponymic type and is formed from the anthroponym *Gun*, found among some inhabitants called «Wallachians» in those centuries. This anthroponym may be connected in the lexical aspect with the Balkanism *gunë*, if it does not run counter to the semantic aspect of the name, for it is difficult for a person to have the name of a garment. *Ngucat* is a form with a metathesis of the original form *Guncat*.

125 S. Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici...*, p. 580.

The attribute *Arbanas*¹²⁶ to this *Vasil* indisputably proves the presence of the Albanians in the region of Vranina since the end of the 13th century. Another evidence belongs to the same year, it is the charter of *krajlica* (queen) Helena with which she donated some property and people to the monastery of St. Nicholas of Vranina. Helena gave that monastery, apart from other things, a *Gen Vogliq* and his brothers and children, as well as a certain *Andrija Bujak* and his brother, a *Daminko Salkuta*¹²⁷ and his brother *Bardona* with his children, and the *Maršonovices* and *Kernices* to be guards for the horses.¹²⁸ These people from this village of present Montenegro without doubt had names of the sphere of Albanian and among them we find Albanian names such as *Gjin*, *Vogël*, *Ndre*, *Andre*, *Bujak*, *Bardhan(e)*. We must say that the name *Salkut* is not rare during the Middle Ages in territories inhabited by Albanians... We add to them the names *Shotevit*, *Gjuragj Marshen*¹²⁹, *Dragosh Vogli*, *Kuqevi*. All were inhabitants of the village of Orhono of Montenegro mentioned in this charter¹³⁰, from which emerges clearly that we have the right to consider names *Shota(j)*, *Gjegj Marshen(i)*, *Dragosh Vogli*, *Kuqët* as Albanian.

126 As an illustration, in the 16th century we find in Buzuku the sentence *The Entire Christian Population of Arban...* (see E. Çabej «*Gjon Buzuku and his language*», VI, Prishtina 1977, p. 244), which is evidence that in the writing (if it is not a literary influence) of that century the Albanians called themselves *Arban*, and their country *Arbania*.

127 St. Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici*.

128 Ibidem, p. 579.

129 It must be said that this name is similar to *Marshěj* — a quarter of Bajza of Kastrat, of which tradition says it has come from Drekal of Kuç.

130 See A. V. Solovjev, *Odabrani spomenici srpskog prava...*, p. 87.

The chrysobull of Dečan of 1330 gives us more complete information on the presence of the Albanians in the region of Montenegro where, among the inhabitants of the village of Komoran of that region, a Progon¹³¹ is mentioned, whereas when the inhabitants of that village are again mentioned in connection with other problems, one of its inhabitants there is a Gon¹³².

Most of the Albanian names are found among the inhabitants of the village of Kushevo in which these names appear: *Pali* and *Bushati* with their children, *Gjurg Danci*, *Gin Qerosoviq*, *Gon Mihali*, *Dminko* and *Andreja*, *Gjerni Bardhi* with his children, *Pjetër Grubnia* and *Pal Gjon Gjegërsh Golemi* with their children and brother *Tanushi* and *Nikolla Pal Mtrasa* with his brother and children, *Mark... i ... Mark* and ... *Burmadhi* and his brother with *Shurin Dminko Bardhi* and children, *Nikolle Kaltaniqi* with his brother *Pal Bythëdosa*, *Lazori Dminko Danci* and children *Nikollë Derri*, *Lazër Leti* and the Greek woman with her children *Nikolle Leti Pal Necaci Andre Neraci Dminko Progoni*¹³³.

Among these inhabitants who have preserved the Albanian names or the arbanas attribute, which reveals their ethnic belonging, is a *Petar Thomočić*¹³⁴. As the writer used the Greek letter *theta* Θ to write the surname of Pjetër, we suppose that he must have heard that sound in these regions and confirm our supposition with the fact that this sound does not exist in the Slavonic phonological system, therefore he borrowed the Greek letter *theta* to write it more accurately (although if accuracy there is, it remains the first and last of these letters in these documents) according to its pronunciation.

Traces of Albanian names are also found among the names of the inhabitants of the village of Llužan where,

131 See M. Milojević, *Dečanske Hrisovulje...*, p. 104.

132 Ibidem, p. 114.

133 Ibidem, p. 120.

134 A. Solovjev, *Odabrani spomenici...*, p. 67.

among others, are mentioned: Lesh the grandfather of Nikolla, Milc the brother of Bratun, Progon the son of Bogdan and Gjon the son of Pavli¹³⁵.

The presence of the Albanians there finds support in the onomastic material of the 13th-14th centuries, which is much more abundant in the 15th century.

Toponyms among in which there are traces of Albanian names, consequently those of the Albanian ethnos, during the past centuries can be found in the region of Montenegro of today. Thus, in a charter of Ivan Cernojević, the ruler of Zela in 1485, among other places there is a territory around present Cetina, which he donated to the monastery of St. Nicholas of Vranina, describing it as a territory in which «the road leads from Cetina to Vërtelec on the right side from the Gjin Hill to our boundaries. . .»¹³⁶

... The blood and family relations which exist among those individuals who have Albanian names and those who have Serbian names, that is, Christian names in the Slavonic form, show that they, too, belonged to the Albanian ethnos and show what Slavonic names were used in the 13th-14th centuries by the Albanians.

There is no doubt that the beginning of the process of the Slavization of the names of the Albanians should be sought for at the beginning of the 13th century when the state power of the Nemanjia was established, and continued even more rapidly as a result of the lack of opposition on the part of the local feudal gentry, and, in the first place, because of the influence and authority of the Church, the state power, the administration and the economic situation under which the Albanians lived during those centuries.

A classical example which shows the depth of the penetration of the Slavonic names among the Albanians is the anthroponymy of the village of Grevā (in the PSRA),

¹³⁵ Ibidem, p. 104.

¹³⁶ See *Oblast Brankovića*, opširni katastarski popis iz 1455 godine Sarajevo 1972, p. 17.

the inhabitants of which had a majority of Slavonic names although the sources prove that they were Albanians.¹³⁷

The onomastic material presented in short in this paper raises the question: Are these names a proof of the presence of the Albanians as a minority or proof of their presence as the local population, but without its own feudal class, without its national Church and, consequently, a subdued population?...

... This ethnos emerges nearly entirely Slavonized from the point of view of onomastics, and the Albanian names are the last relics of an Albanian anthroponymic system, as a result of the absence of the local feudal class in the ethnos from which it emerged as an organized group. The lack of the Albanian political factor resulted in the fact that «the territories with Albanian population, for example, the territories of Kosova, the Dukagjin Plateau (Metohia) and western Macedonia were not included in the Middle Ages in the territories with Albanian names, because the Albanian political formation was not established there, but they remained continuously under the rule of the foreign invaders (Byzantine, Serbian, Bulgarian¹³⁸), compared to the region which was included under the name Albanon during the 11th-14th century, which was in the quadrangle Tivar-Prizren-Ohër Vlora, where the presence of the Albanian rulers (in

137 The inhabitants of that village had such names as: *Bogisha* i brat mu *Magoja* a sin mu *Andreja*, *Martin* a sin mu *Andreja* i *Shushko*, *Pavl Gjuraš* a sin mu *Zaharija*; *Bogsha Ivan* a sin mu *Nikolla* a brat mu *Gjor*; *Tanush*, *Gjorgj* a sin mu *Mihail*, *Dminko* a sin *Andrija*, *Koperc* a sin mu *Gradan Dolin* i *Gjuraš*, *Dminko Gon Ivan*, *Gjorg* a ded im *Marko*; *Boiko* i *Gon* i *Dobërvac* a sin mu *Nikolla*, i *Gjorg* i *Nikolla* i *Gin* a ded im *Zaharija*...

138 Koço Bozhori, *Studies on the Extension of the Name Arbanon in the Byzantine Period*, «Historical Studies», 4/1972, pp. 135-140.

the first place Gjin Bue Shpata and later Karlo Toko — 1411) determined the fact that they were called Albanian territories.

On the basis of the examples presented above it emerges that the Albanian ethnos had Albanian, Slavonic and some other names with an unknown origin during the 15th century. Hence the Albanian ethnos used the following Albanian personal names: *Gjin, Gjon, Bushat, Sume, Lesh, Reç, Progon, Kuç, Mazrrek, Mak, Mal, Mil, Tish, Bob, Puto, Lul, Tol, Bardh, Rush, Tanush, Lalë, Pul, Dedë, Dodë, Kal, Kokal, Dush, Dushman, Pec, Lum, Lazër, Mak, Kel, Dosh, Nino, Muzak, Meks, Balë, Brabat, Kojë, Mekë, Beb, Miran, Mirak, Gurabardh, Gurakuq, Milot* and some other which in the Serbian church documents emerge in the form: *Gin, Gon, Gonaç, Gonshin, Gonmir, Gonko, Gonoma, fem. Gonsava Kučić, Kučeva, Masarik, Mazarik, Maketa, Mečeta Maloje, Milc Sumnja, and Sumeg, Tisanović, Bobza Bobal Puislav, Toloje, Tolšin, Tolislav, Barda Bardonja, Laloje Lalzin, Pulkoča, Dedoje Dedać, Kalajan Kalin, Kukal Došoje, Dušol, Lumas, Luzor Lumasius and Lumaska, Ninoje Ninošević, Ninoš, Muzak, Balshin, Beloje Berbat, Kojadin etc. Makjan'c, Mekinja, Mekjavčik, Bebej Beben, Guripardić, Kurikuć, Kelijan etc.*

Some of these names are found to this day in microtoponyms such as: *Lesh (Lesheva Rudina, Leshevo selish-te), Sumë (Sumegnica), Kuç (Kučevska cesta), Tanush (Tanushev Llaz), Kokal (Kukalin Studenc), Bushat (Bushatova Kukja), Bel (Beljeva Gar), Mak (Mačinći), Muzak (Muzakjev Kusht), Reç (Reg-jevski studenc)* etc.

Apart from these the Albanians had a good number of names which belonged to the Slavonic anthroponymy. During that century the Albanian population of Kosova had the following names of the Slavonic and Wallachian language *Gollub, Prijezda, Tešmir, Bogosllav, Rajko Brata, Bogoje, Rad, Dragoš, Smil, Hranoje, Petko, Peiko, Božić, Novak, Pribislav, Run-koj, Budan, Branislav*, and personal names of that ethnos which emerge in the Slavonic

form such as: *Paul* (for *Pal*), *Gjurg* (for *Gjergj*) and *Andricko* (for *Andre-Ndre*).

The question of the names of the population which in these documents appear as «Wallachians» forms a separate chapter. During this century this population, apart from the names of its own language, had also Albanian names such as: *Dedë, Beb, Dodë, Ber, Balë, Balshë, Berbat, Dush-ol Bob*. This fact raises the need to view the names of this population more carefully, as well as the question of the co-existence and, perhaps, amalgamation of the Albanian-Wallachian populations.

The Albanian ethnos of Macedonia used, during that century, the names *Gjergj* (as *Gergo*), *Gjon* (as *Gon*), *Progon*; *Balë* and *Bardh* (*Barda*) and the names *Nikollë* and *Martin*, whereas the Albanians of Montenegro, on the basis of the examples given in this study, used the names *Gen, Bardh, Kuç, Vogël* (as a surname), *Bushat, Tanush, Mtrash, Burrmadh, Bythëdosë, Derr, Let, Progon, Qeros, Lazër* and *Shotaj* (also a surname), which in the documents emerge in the forms *Bardonja, Vogli, Shotevi, Burmad* and *Butidasa*...

...Based of what has been discussed it emerges that the Albanian ethnos was present in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro and in the regions of southern Serbia, whereas, from the point of view of names, Albanian and Slavonic names were both in use with a predomination of the latter.

Although very rarely, among the Serbian Church documents there are cases when the patronym emerges in the definite form of Albanian, which may be considered to be a reflection of the definite form of these names by the local people. It can be seen clearly that in the Turkish census of the population during the 15th-16th centuries in the region of Dukagjin, Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro we have to do with this nuance.

The extra-linguistic data, on the other hand, also prove the presence of the Albanians especially in those parts of the ordinances issued by the rulers, through

which they donate to different monasteries some property and people, whom they mention as Arbanas. More frequent are the proofs from which we learn that the Albanians were prohibited from grazing their sheep in the property of the churches (in the region of Vranina, Tetova, the surroundings of Suhareka, Ponorc, Llapusha) or when they were put to some task or when taxes were levied from them (such as the market tax near Klina, Tetova, Gračanica, Hoća, Tivar, southern Serbia etc.).

As for the individuals who have or have no Albanian names but who, on the basis of their blood ties or because of the majority of the names of a locality, may be considered Albanians, we see that they were subject to paying tithes in kind (such as bread grain, wine, honey, wax) or pay their dues to the churches and monasteries, (in salt, wax and other obligations) which an exclusively nomadic shepherd population could not possibly have.

From onomastic data it emerges that there were Albanians during these centuries not only in mountainous villages, but also in big centres such as Prizren, Trepča and in many lowland villages of Dukagjin and Kosova, and that they were also noblemen, local rulers etc.

The presence of microtoponyms of the antroponymic type proves, on the other hand, that since some Albanian anthroponyms have been preserved in names of territories we may affirm that they — the Albanians, had been in those territories long before these names were documented.

**CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE
MEDIAEVAL ONOMASTICS IN THE
TERRITORY OF MONTENEGRO, BOSNJA AND
HERCEGOVINA, AND KOSOVA***

In the wealth of literature on the living conditions of the shepherds of the Balkans, alongside the place names and personal names of Wallachians in the mediaeval «katun» (shepherd village) we find that many of them are of Albanian origin. Traces of their Albanian origin are also found in historical sources, which testify that the names of some old phrateries of Zeta, such as the Mataguzhes in former Podgorica (1335), the Coastal Mahina (1435) which reminds one, as Šufflay (Archive 22) says of the Illyrian Maniojs, or the Malonshiqes (Malonsi) in the valley of the Zeta river (Jeriček, Staat, 2, 34; cfr. Nicolaus Malonsi 1775, arch deacon and later bishop of Shkodra (Šufflay, in Thalloczy III Forschungen, I 256, nr. 1), Petrus Malonsis, bishop of Lesh (Arhiv II, 277). The great scholar of the history of Mediaeval Albania,

* Extract from «Albanological Investigations», series of philological sciences, IV-1974, Prishtina 1975, pp. 7-19.

the historian Milan Šufflay writes the following in his sociological study «Povijest sjevernih Arbanasa» (Arhiv II, 227): «In 1278 the groups of Albanians are mentioned around the Cemv River or in Albanian Cemi, a branch of Moraca (A. Alb 1, 386, 650, 759). A document of the Dečan monastery (1330) mentions many Albanian villages between the Lim and the Drin i Bardhë rivers... As can be seen from the compact masses of Albanians near Dubrovnik and Kotorr in the 13th century, autochthonous Illyrian remnants have existed everywhere here.» (Šufflay, Ungarische Rundschau 5/1916, 11). In his book *Dubrovnik i okolina, Naselje i porklo stanovništva*, book 23, 1926, he says that Albanians are mentioned since the 13th century. At the end of the 13th century they are mentioned as being merchants, labourers of different trades and especially as friars and priests, because the people of Dubrovnik did not prefer priesthood at a time when trade and sailing were flourishing (Thalloczy, Jireček, Šufflay, *Acta Albaniae*, Vienna I, 1913, III, 1918, I nr. 175, 527, 601, 606, 681, 697, 722, 760; II, Nr. 48, 50, 60, 74, 80, 95, 124, 208, 219, 545, 397, 434, 550, 622, 675, 949). The well-known historian of the peoples of the Balkans, Kostantin Jireček, in his work *Romani u gradovima Dalmacije tokom srednjega veka*, 51, writes «I have first found the Albanian language mentioned in a lawsuit in Dubrovnik in 1285. It was about a theft in Kasale (Casale), the accused was one Petăr do Volci in Belen (present-day Plat) in Župa. The witness Matheus, the son of Mark of Menče says: 'Audivi unam voce, clamantem in monte in lingua albanesca'...» This, without doubt, is an important piece of information, because the Albanian language is mentioned for the first time in its history by its true name.

I. Montenegro, Bosnia and Hercegovina are rich in pastures to which a great number of shepherds of a Wallachian, Albanian and Serbian origin brought their flocks.

In our study we shall analyse only those villages

and shepherds whose names testify about their Albanian origin. Such an analysis would be one of the first contributions to interpreting names of villages from the linguistic point of view. But first, I shall try to explain the origin of the name «katun» (village).

It is interesting to mention that the meaning which the word «katun» had in the past both in Slavonic and in Albanian does not coincide with the meaning this word has today in the Albanian language, whereas its meaning in old Serbian and old Albanian was: nomadic dairy huts of (a collective of) shepherds (Jokl, *Linguistisch-kultur-historische Untersuchungen aus dem Bereiche des Albanischen*, 152, 172, 179; Šufflay, *Povijest Sjevernih Arbanasa; Srbi i Arbanasi*, Beograd, 1925). The origin of the word «katun» must be traced according to the method which the Albanian linguist E. Çabej has used for many years on (Premier Congres International des Etudes Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes, Sofia 26, VIII — 1. 9. 1966: *Der Beitrag des Albanischen zum Balkansprachbund*, the Albanian version in «Philological Studies» 1970/IV). The Austrian Albanologist Norbert Jokl has also given his version about the origin of the word katun (*Indogermanische Forschungen*, XXXIII, p. 427). He finds its origin in the treasury of the Albanian language. In his analysis the Austrian scholar, N. Jokl, has divided this word into the form *kë* or *ka* which is also found in the words: *kë-tu*, *kë-ta*, *kë-tillë*, *kë-shtu*, *kë-tej*, *kë-shtallë*, *kë-thader*, *kë-putë*, (*putër*, *shputë*); *kë-lysh* (*lej*), *kë-shet*, the stem of the word katun is *tun(d)*¹.

1 We have given an Albanian translation of the quotation of N. Jokl on the word *katun* from «Indogermanische Forschungen», pp. 427-428. And in fact the Albanian language gives, in my opinion, a sufficient explanation: the word *katund* *katun* in the Gheg dialect and *katun* in the Tosk dialect is connected with the Tosk *ndjenja*, *ndeja*, *Gheg*, *ndeja*, *ndejta* (stay) which functions as aorist and this, in turn, is connected with *end nura*, *Gheg*: *e ndeitmeja*, *ndieme* (Meyer, E. VV, 300), *unej*, *nneja*

If the origin of our language and its radiation in the languages of other peoples of the Balkans is to be demonstrated the student cannot avoid the analysis of the word *katun* of the Albanian language, because of the facility with which it is explained by means of the instruments of historical phonetics of Albanian.

The historical sources and documents, the etymological studies by Albanian and foreign students (*Acta Albaniae* — Thalloczy, Jireček, Šufflay; Cordignano, *Catasto Veneto di Scutari* (1416-1417), Shkodra 1940; *Onomasticon del Catasto Veneto di Scutari e descrizione del Sangiacato di Scutari*, 1614; Rovinjski, Cernogorja, 1397; Hecquard, *Historie et description de la Haute Albanie ou Guegueria*, 1859; *Hronika popa Duklanini* (1200) Stojan Novaković Selo, 1965, Jovan Erdeljanović *Naselja*, 4; Jireček, *Istorijska Srba*, Zbornik 1959 (I, II 1965); Šufflay, *Srbi i Arbanasi*, 1925, *Povijest sjevernih Arbanasa*, Arhiv, II; Gjurgjev, *Is istorije Crne Gore, brdskih i malisorskih plemena*, Radovi NR BiH, Sarajevo 1954; Selami Pulaha, *Krahinat perëndimore dhe qendrore të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës në fund të sh. XV* (I, II) «Studime historike»

(meaning: dwelling, stay Baik. 300), *ndetor* (dweller) (Meyer 1 c.) a group which Meyer puts at *nden* Gheg *ndej* (pull, stretch) from *tentio*: Greek root of *indoeur*, *ten-*. The development of the meaning of the word «*ndejbanoj*» is precisely explained as a term of shepherd life from the process of putting up (stretching) a tent. In fact the *katund* (village) unfolds itself as the folk Serbo Croatia song quoted by Vuk says, «*razapese Piperi katune*» (the Piperis unfolded their villages). Morphologically speaking, *katun* is a participle with to which was used in Albanian to form a category of such words. Phonetically, the word should be considered as = *tnt*, which has the *n* reflected as in the words *grund*, *munt*, *strung*, *tunt* (Author, stud. 2. alb. Etym. und Worth: p. 25, 53, 89, 91) *k* — ? *ka* — is the same prefix that appears in the sound *g*, e. g. *ent*, Gheg *end*, *enn*, *g* in *dihet* (*qdhiet*: it dawns), *dit*, *k iet*, *jelm*, *k nem*, p. 428 *katunt* is therefore «unfolding», «stretching», «tent», and further dwelling, stay.

(Tiranë 1971, 2, 3) provide a large number of place names and personal names, a great part of which is of Albanian origin.

Kuç is one of the regions which had many villages and shepherd settlements in the Middle Ages: *Pantalezh*, *Barzan* (*Bardhan*), *Bankec*, *Bytidos*, *Lazorc* (1497). Like other names of Albanian origin, they have taken the Serbian suffix becoming *Lesković*, *Lopar*, *Vjeduš*, *Bardić*, *Kuc*. Such suffixes appear in the names of some villages and shepherd settlements in the region of Kelmend (1497): *Licen* (*liqeni*) and *Shpaja* with the villages: *Djonović Lesković*, *Murović Kolemmande* (or *Gojëmadhe*). In other regions, in that of the mountains of Hot and Piper, we find villages with Albanian names from the end of the 15th century: *Keć*, *Špihja*, *Bušat*, *Rogam*, *Bukmir* (or *Bukëmirë*).

The pastoral commune of *Burmaza* or *Burmazovica* in the *Stolac* region, which is known from the 14th century, appears to have taken its name from its founder of Albanian origin «*burrë i madh*» (great man) (VI. Čorović, *Arhiv*, II).

In the *Sarajevo Plain* the villages of *Butmir* must have existed from the 15th century; in 1455 it appears as *Budmir*, in 1485 as *Budmire* (N. Sabonović, *Bosansko krajiste*, 1448-1463. *God. Ist. drustva BiH*, year IX, *Sarajevo*, 1958, p. 220). Dervish M. Kurkut explains the name of the village in question, as one «which is well known for its good cultivated land», from the Albanian words *bota e mirë*, *botë e mirë*, *tokë e mirë*.

In «*Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja*», XXX, *Skarić* has published a long list of place names of *Herzegovina*, amongst which we find *Ligata* of *Foca* and *Ligatici* of *Bosnja*, which cannot be explained without the help of the Albanian noun *ligatë* which we often meet in Albanian place names.

The oldest information about the village of *Zhur*, later called *Žurivic* in *Montenegro*, is dated at 1376 (*Dčanka Kovačević*, *Simpozijum o srednjovjekovnom ka-*

tunu, Sarajevo, 1961, p. 127). The village of Zurovic has taken its name from Zhur, a village mentioned in 1367; the place name *Zhur* is found in the vicinities of Prizren in close relationship with the above-mentioned Zur of Montenegro.

As to its origin, this word should be linked with the Latin *sabur*, which in Albanian, according to its laws, has given *shur*, and through sonorization developed into *zhur* («fine sand»).

Let us make a more detailed analysis of the aforementioned place names.

Kuç is mentioned in a document of Dečan in 1330. Prof. Gjurgjev in his study «Iz istorije Crne Gore, brdskih i malisorskih plemena» (Radovi, 1954), writes: «In the document of Dečan, Kuç is mentioned in the village of Ljesh Tuzi and Bushat (which in a document of the year 1497 appear as villages in Piper) and Mataguza. This Albanian village is situated in the high lands of the property of Dečan. In another document of Dečan, this village appears after the village of Krusevc of Zeta. In 1416 some inhabitants of the Kuç village settled in the region of Shkodra, therefore one of the villages there is called Kuç. And this is not all about it, because there are a series of such villages which have links with the villages of Zeta (Tuz, Bushat, Butidos, etc.). It is clear that the region of the eastern shore of the Lake Shkodra and the parishes of Zeta became the territories in which these villages came to settle. In their migrations from the southwest towards the northeast they formed small communities north of Zeta, Mataguz, Tuz, Kuç, Bushat; whereas in the south, on the eastern shore of the Lake Shkodra there are the villages of Tuz and Kuç. The Kuç villagers are mentioned as a separate solid tribal unit in 1455, but Erdeljanović is right when he expresses his doubts about this. In 1485 the present territory of Kuç was already definitively formed (pp. 191-192). The village of Kuç is again mentioned in the east of Vlora in 1421 (H. Inalçik, Şüreti Defteri Sançaki Arvanid, Ankara, 1954). Linguisti-

cally it is impossible to explain the place name Kuç without referring it to *kuq* (red), which is a Latin borrowing (*cucceus*). The name most probably has been derived from the red soil.

On the basis of the Albanian source of the name Kuç and other numerous names of villages and regions of the province of Zeta and mountainous regions of Montenegro, it is difficult to accept the opinion of some ethnographers and historians (Erdeljanović, M. Filipović, Čubrilović) that no Albanian shepherds existed in the region of present-day Kuç until the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th century, whereas the Serbs had been organized there under the territorial unit of Gorska Zupa; and again in connection with this, as Prof. Gjurgjev has rightly said, the question emerges: Why Kuç is not called Goran?!

Of all the villages of the *nahije* (region) of Kuç the following villages: *Pantalesh*, *Barzanj* (Bardhanj), *Bankeq*, *Butidos* (Bytidos), are certainly of Albanian origin. The name of the village of Pantalash can be divided into *Panta* plus the Albanian word *lesh*; the second component is found in the proper name *Kambalesh* «Nichola Gambalessa» or «Jon Cambalessi» (see Cordignano, *Catasto Veneto di Scutari*, 1416-1417, 142), whereas the name of the village of *Barzanj* (Bardhanj) is built of Albanian elements: *hardh* (white) and the suffix *a/nj*, which is very frequent in the Albanian linguistic territory.

Two place names: *Barzanj* (Bardhanj) and the names of villages known as *Burmaza* or *Burmazović* in Hercegovina call for special attention because of their specific form. There are different opinions concerning the transcription of the name *Barzanj*. In fact, judging from the text written in Arabic it would read *Barzanj*, as Prof. Gjurgjev has done in his study «Iz Istorije Crne Gore,...». Selami Pulaha's version departs a little from the original, but is closer to the present pronunciation of this name in Albanian: *Bardhanj*. This opens up a new controversy which is difficult to solve at present. In fact, the text

written in the Arabic is clear enough and there is no room for doubting whether it is written *Barzanj* or otherwise. However the question whether the word was dictated with a *z* or with a *dh* at that time, i.e. in 1485, remains open. There are two possible interpretations: the Indoeuropean palatal sound of this word (*barg*), which preceded the interdental *dh* in the present Albanian language, should have passed through the affricative *z* (this situation is seen in many words of other languages, especially in the Rumanian, in which the Albanian borrowings have been preserved in their initial transitional stage of the affricative *bardh* < *barza*; *dhallë* < (Rum). *Zare*; *vjedhull* < *viezura*, in which we see the transition from the Indoeuropean *k*, *g* to the interdental through affricative sounds; + *brag* > *bargz* > *bardh*; + *mag maz* > *madh*. This transitional stage is proved by many examples of Albanian: *thimc*: *timth*, *cep* > *thep*, *cjap* > *thiap*. In these examples the affricative *c* has preceded the breathed *th*: *c* > *th*.

This, seen in connection with the formation of the above-mentioned forms of the names of *Barzanj*, *Bardhanj*, leads to the conclusion that the sound *z* constitutes a transitional phase in the pronunciation of the Indoeuropean *g* in the Albanian language; another plausible supposition is that the writer, to whom Albanian was a foreign language, could not transcribe the interdental *dh* as such, but put it as *z*.

The pronunciation of the interdental both as *z* and *dh* in the Albanian language is explained with the historical fact that the form of pronunciation in *z* is older than the form in *dh*.

As for the word *Kolemand* both scholars agree about the transcription of the text from the Turkish language.

The explanation of the name of the village of *Bankec* is possible only through the Albanian: *ban* + *keq* (do ill), just as *dasha*+*mir* (benevolent), *ndjella*+*zi* (auguring ill).

The place names *Rogam*, *Bušat*, *Bukmira*, *Bukmir* found in Northern Albania also as family names must

have existed as names of phrateries such as in the case of *Bythëdosë-t*, from which the village took its name. In fact these toponyms cannot be satisfactorily explained without the help of Albanian; in the case of Rogam, we think it is a derivative form of the Albanian word *roge* plus the component *amë*; the word *rogë* does not appear to be very old, otherwise the occlusive sound *g* would have dropped long ago; therefore the first part of the word is linked with the Albanian word *rruej*, *rruaj*, in the meaning of «grassland in the mountain, a sort of clearing».

The toponym *Bushat* is positively derived from the word *shat*: *Nënshat* being a place name near Shkodra; it is connected with *fshat* which is formed of *shat* and a formative *f* (*f*+*shat*). The proximity between the place name of Bushat of Zadrima with the name Busat of Zeta, in the opinion of Prof. Gjurgjev (*Iz istorije Crne Gorje...*) is explained with the migrations of its inhabitants from the winter pasture grounds to the summer pastures and with their movements (p. 177).

We will mention some other villages the names of which are connected with Albanian names such as *Koce*, a village in Krci (1497); *Koci* stands for a village and its inhabitants, and is derived from the Albanian word which means *kokërr* (grain). The name *Lopari* (meaning cowboy, herdsman) is connected with the Albanian word *lopë*, just as *dhiar* with *dhi* (goat). In Kuç there is a village named Fundana. The toponym *Fundana*, *Fundina* or *Fundëna* is mentioned in the neighbourhood of Drivast (Drisht — 1402). The same name is found in Kuç (Rovinski, Cernogorija, I. Erdeljanović, Naselja..., I); as for its origin, we can say with certainty that it is derived from the Albanian word *fund* plus the plural suffix (*e*-)*na*, which is found in a great number of place names in the Albanian linguistic territory: *Lis-na*; from *kishë* (church) *Kishën* (a village in the vicinity of Shkodra), *bisht-bishtna* in Malësi e Madhe, *Shtiqën* (village in Lumas North Albania) from *shtek*, pl. *shtiqe* (E. Çabej, *Lingua Posnaniensis* VII, 1959,

1960, Alb. ed.: *The singularized plural in the Albanian Language*, Tirana 1967, p. 97).

The origin of the place names *Ligatīci* and *Ligate*, the former in Hercegovina and the latter in Bosnia, should be sought for in the Albanian words. These words are derived from the Albanian noun *ligatē*, as a derivative of *lag* with the suffix — *atē*, used to denote a marshy place; hence *lagatē* developed into *ligatē* as an appellative. Therefore, the toponym *Ligatē* cannot be linked with *lig* (ill, sick), hence «unhealthy place», as Lirak Dodbiba writes («Philological Studies», 1967, No. 1, p. 44).

II. The mixed toponymy of these regions calls for more investigations into another field, anthroponymy, so as to throw more light into the ethnic composition of the inhabitants of these regions during the 15th-16th centuries. Our investigations cover the territories of Kosova and Metohia, about which we have had the possibility to study in recent years, the Turkish register book of the *Oblast Brankovića* of 1455 and the register book of the Shkodra sandjak for the period from 1485 to 1582. If the scholars have ever referred to this question, that is the personal names in the aforesaid regions, they have done it only superficially and hurriedly, and most of them have accepted that the personal names figuring in the mediaeval register books reflect also the ethnic belonging of the respective regions (Novaković, S.K. Jireček).

The Serbian scholar Stanoje Stojanović (*Lična imena in narodnost u Srbiji srednjega veka*, «J. Filolog», book VIII, 1928-1929, pp. 151-154), after compiling a sort of list with personal names from the first register book of Dečan, pointed out the following: «Meanwhile, on the basis of the material thus compiled one thing is certain and clear, that the personal names of the mediaeval documents cannot, in any case, be taken for granted and relied upon for defining with some accuracy the nationality (narodnost) of the respective person» (p. 154). He lists the persons according to family relationship:

I

Father — foreign name	Son — Serbian name
Shleman	Rajko
Tanush	Boljko
Gjin	Nojan

II

Father — Serbian name	Son — foreign name
Bogdan	Borhan
Maroje	Beran
Bogdan	Progan

III

Grandfather — foreign name	Grandson — Serbian name
Bukur	Trajko
Shin	Bogdan — Rajko

IV

Grandfather — Serbian name	Grandson — foreign name
Pretac	Nikola — Vitan
Dobrota	Gal

V

Father — Serbian name	Son — foreign name	Grandson — foreign name
Sramko	Stulca	Milovan
Dragomir	Lagos	Priboje

VI

Father —	Serbian name	Son —	Serbian name	Grandson —	foreign name
Dobromir		Hronzha		Hunjjer	
Dobran		Milosh		Malha	

VII

Father —	foreign name	Son —	Serbian name	Grandson —	Serbian name
Lesh		Nikolla		Rajko	
Toan		Bratoslav		Tomislav	

VIII

Brothers: one with Serbian name	another with foreign name
Radoslav	Sishan
Dratjko	Gjon (Djon)
Drazhut	Gjin (Djin) — Brajen

A similar case of the mixture of local names with foreign names is found in the register book for the population of the region of the Brankovičes of 1455 (published by Orijentalni Institut in Sarajevo, series Monumenta Turcica, prepared by H. Hadžibegić, A. Handžić, E. Kovačević) and in the register of the inhabitants and property of the Shkodra sandjak in the 15th and 16th centuries (published in Albanian by Selami Pulaha). In his analysis of the opinion forwarded by some historians in connection with the interpretation of personal names in the mediaeval documents Stanojević says: «In this manner, every person with a Wallachian name in old documents is considered to be of Wallachian ethnic origin, and every person with an Albanian name is an Albanian» (J. Filolog, book VIII, p. 151).

Stanojević's opinion that it is very difficult to determine the ethnic belonging of the person only on the basis of the personal names appearing in the mediaeval books, is acceptable, but it must be pointed out that he has not done anything to solve this scientific puzzle. Today many related documents which have to do with the period 15th-16th centuries, are available. The inhabitants of Metohia were registered in the register book of the Shkodra sandjak (1485-1582). This register book covers these *nahije* (regions); Shkodra and its neighbourhood, Dushman, Zabojana, Mërkot, Kraja, Britja, Gjakova (Altun-ili), Plava and other regions (S. Pulaha, The Altun-ili region and its population at the end of the 10th century; the Albanian element according to personal names in the regions of Sandjak of Shkodra in the period 1484-1582, «Historical Studies», 1972, I, 4).

From the aforementioned register books S. Pulaha has extracted all the names of about 50 villages in the triangle Tropoja-Junik-Gjakova; beside the name of the head of family he has marked the name of the father, and often the name of the brother or some relative. The information from this register book has first-hand importance for the study of personal names and deciding the ethnic structure of the inhabitants of this region from the end of the 15th century. A common characteristic of the families of this region is the variety of names, amongst which there are Slav and non-Slav names, and of the latter the majority are Albanian names. A great number of family names appear to be mainly of Albanian origin, e.g., Plekan, Mel, Morina, Dujak, Dolina, Cerna, Peronja, Radosh, Dolina, Burxhan, Bozhan, Vuçidol, Berbat, Veliki Dobrosh, Mali Dobrosh, Braković, Trnova, Bogova, Koić, Goraniça, Kolshid, Sismono, Popovc, Bonisuc Stubla, Rogam, and we may say that all the personal names are Albanian: Gjini, Gjon, Lika, Kola, Gega, Progor, Tole, Lesh, Pepa, Bardo, Kolsh, Gjec, Tanush, Bushat, Lulo, Mazarak, Pal, Duka, etc.

Some Christian names are common for both ethnic

groups: Nikola, Andreja, Lazar, Gjorgj, Stepan, Dimitër, Petër, Mihalj, Mihal, etc. This raises difficulties to determining the ethnic belonging of the person. Nevertheless, no few personal names are of Slav (respectively Serb) origin. The village of Rjenica, for example, which has 74 heads of families and 14 adult males of the working age, had only 17 head of families with characteristic Albanian names; or the village of Batusha with 37 heads of families and 15 adults, had only 5 of them with Albanian names. Judging from the personal names, the same ethnic structure appears in the following villages: Sosam, Pole, Dragobile, Jasić, Kovać, Milohan, Goran, Tripole, Kamenica, etc. For illustration below we give a list the personal names of the families of one village:

Village of Morina

Gjon-i, the son of Ogëm (Ugëm)
Leka, the son of Dimitr
Gjin, the son of Todor
Gjon, the son of Andrij
Bogdan, the son of Llesh
Pepa, the son of Andrij

Bogoslav Nikolla

Gjorgj, the son of Bur (Bor)
Pop, the son of Progon
Nik, the son of the former
Pavl, the son of Gjon
Gjin, the son of Gjorgj
Gjin, the son of Gion
Nikolla, the son of Gjon
Petro, the son of Nikolla

Gjorgj Siromah

Petr, his son
Gjon, the son of Siromah

Nenko, his brother
Widowed Marija
the widow of Tole
Pepa, the son of Nikolla
Ukça, the son of Llesh
Gjon, the son of Todor
Mihail, the son of Dimitr
Pepa, the son of Bogdan
Novak, the son of Dardo
Nenko, the son of Nikolla,
Andrij, the son of Gjorgj
Pavl, the son of Andrij
Mihail, the son of Bojić
Rashko, the son of Gjorgj
Gjorgj, the son of Gjon
Dimitr, the son of Gjon
Vlad, the son of Andrij
Andrij, the son of Gjon
Nikolla, the son of Gjorgj
Dimitr, the son of Giverdrar
Vuka, the son of Smil (Ismil)
Nikolla, the son of Andrij
Pepa, the son of Nikolla
the widow of Deja

From this list of personal names of the region of Metohia at the end of the 15th century (1485) and from similar lists of personal names of 50 villages which have not been reproduced here, we can see that the number of original Albanian personal names is prevalent, though in some places their number is somewhat smaller than those of pure Slav (Serb) origin.

The coexistence of Albanian-Slav or Albanian-Serb personal names in the region of Rrafsh i Dukagjinit and other bordering zones resulted in the mixture of personal names within one family. This mixture cannot be analysed mechanically, but the socio-historical conditions should be taken into consideration. Without doubt, the

influence of the administration and that of the Orthodox religious and cultural institutions on the Albanian inhabitants in the pre-Turkish period and the influence of the Orthodox Church during the Turkish rule, have been very significant. There were 12 monasteries and 5 churches in the Despotate of Branković; in the tenure of Dečan there was one priest for more than 20 households; whereas in 8 Wallachian villages of Dečan and in one village inhabited with Albanians, which had 266 households, not a single priest existed (Stojan Novaković, Selo... , 1965 pp. 171-173). In the same manner, in 504 households of Wallachians in Sveti Stefan, the books mention only two priests among the Wallachians of Hilanvic Selo, 1965, pp. 171-173). Whereas in the 504 household of Wallachians in Zica there was only one priest (v. c. 173).

The situation changed 100 years later (1582) when the second census was taken, because by that time the state machine of the Serbian feudal class had been overthrown and the influence of the Orthodox Church declined. This is obvious from the personal names in the aforementioned villages. From a glance at the two censuses of the inhabitants of the Shkodra sandjak it emerges clearly that in the first census (1485) the inhabitants with mainly Serbian names prevail over the Albanian names, whereas in the second census the number of Serbian names is reduced to a minimum and the Albanian names prevail (S. Pulaha, *The Region of Altun-Ilia and Its Population at the End of the 15th Century*, «Albanological Investigations», series of historical sciences, 1/1971 p. 199).

From the individual elements studied we may reach the following conclusions:

1. On the basis of the material discussed here we may determine, with a high degree of accuracy, the ethnic belonging of the inhabitants of the aforementioned zones of Dukagjin.

2. The characteristic Albanian personal names in the census of the Shkodra sandjak and in some villages of

the region of Dukagjin outnumber the Serb personal names.

3. This number continues to increase in favour of Albanian personal names, which is obvious in the second census of 1582.

4. The rich mediaeval Church documents clearly proves that the organization of the Catholic Church was very loose among the Albanians, therefore, Orthodoxy, in our opinion, penetrated readily.

The solution of the problem of the formation of the Albanian-Serbian proper names in the families appearing in these register books is evident if we take into consideration the position of the ethnic groups in their relations with the despots of the territory of Dukagjin and the neighbouring regions.

The habit of putting the noun «Arbanas» (Albanian) beside the original Albanian name (A. Handžić, *ibid.* p. 204) speaks of the presence of the Albanian population in that part of Dukagjin even before the 15th century, a population which had Albanian as its mother tongue.

5. The objective study of the mediaeval documents and the Turkish registers rejects the claim of the bourgeois historians that the Albanians have come to the present territories of Kosova and Rrafsh i Dukagjinit at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, i.e., after the withdrawal of the Serbian element from these territories northwards; in fact, the mediaeval Serbian documents mention the Albanians as migrant shepherds; the majority of the Albanian personal names among the sedentary population of many villages in the Rrafsh of Dukagjin cannot be explained otherwise than by the presence of masses of the Albanian population in them.

6. The recent affirmations of some bourgeois historians who defend the idea that the presence of Albanians in the mediaeval Serb territories has been proved only in the villages, are ungrounded. The personal names with an indisputable Albanian characteristic, so richly

documented in the mediaeval Serb sources, proves the presence of Albanians as ethnic masses which had settled in the aforementioned regions before the Turkish invasion...

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**THE PRE-ISLAMIC ANTHROPONYMY OF THE
LLAPUSHA REGION IN THE LIGHT OF
MICROTOPONYMY**

In this paper, out of the many personal names which I consider ancient and which I have collected in the Llapusha region which have long been established as microtoponyms, I shall take up and present only those which appear in written sources.

From these personal names of the Llapusha region, which has the form of a triangle between the present communes of Glogofc — Kline — Rahovec and has 30 villages inhabited by Albanians and 7 mixed villages inhabited by Albanians and Serbs, I shall study and analyse only those which belong to the Albanian ethnos. However, I shall not analyse the widespread antroponyms such as Bushat, Dedë, Pal-Pale, Kolë-Kole, Nikë-Nike, Mirash-Mire, Mirushë, Lush-Lushe, Bardh-Bardhe, Pashk-Pashke, Gjon and Gjin with its forms Gjokë Gjekë, and Gjukë etc., which have now been proved to be ancient Albanian antroponyms and which can be found in the microtoponymy of this region, and in mediaeval sources which refer to these regions. The aim of our analysis is

to prove that they are just as ancient as the aforementioned. The study of them required special care because anthroponymy, especially the mediaeval anthroponymy (when speaking of the ethnical belonging) is one of the most erratic fields of the branches of onomastics.

Many of the personal names found in all sorts of ancient forms, with different and double suffixes, as compounds and with many variants of the primary forms due to the influence of different phonetical linguistic phenomena, seemed to escape any analysis.

However, mediaeval sources show that these names were used by the Albanians of these regions during the Middle Ages or earlier, but seem to have dropped out of use long ago and today have remained as relics, found only in written sources, nicknames, microtoponyms and genealogies.

The *Maketa* quarter of the village of Llazica preserves ancient anthroponymic traces in the surrounding microtoponyms: Shpati Maket's (Maket's Slope), Gryka Maket's (Maket's Gorge), Lugi or Prroni Maket's (Maket's Dale or stream) etc. In them it is easy to notice the early Christian anthroponym *Mak* and the suffix *-et*. The anthroponym *Mak* is mentioned in the chrysobull of Tzar Dušan in 1348, when the boundaries of the monastery of Saint Mëhill and Saint Gabriel of Prizren¹ were outlined. It is mentioned somewhere else in the villages Gullboc and Plločice perhaps right in the place the *Maketa* quarter exists. Therefore, if what I say is true, *Mak*, which comes from this microtoponym, is presumed to be the chief of this quarter and, later from his name or from the extension of his name, the *Maketa* brotherhood was formed.

The people of these parts have many legends about

1 *Hrisovula cara Stefana Dušana*, in «Glasnik društva srpske slovesnosti», kojom osniva manastir sv. Arhangela Mihaila i Gavriila u Prizrenu, godine 1348, Svezka XV, Beograd 1862, p. 293.

Further on in the text this written source will be referred to as «GDSS».

Maketa, one of which says more or less the following: Maketa was on the black list of Istanbul, because it had fought against the king's soldiers.²

It is said that one of Maketa's brothers was named *Plakiq*, a name which has been preserved alongside *Maketa* in the microtoponyms: Lugi Plakiqit (Plakiqi dale), Shpati i Plakiqit (Plakiq slope), Zabeli Plakiqit (Plakiqi grove), etc. The *Maketa* quarter also is often called the *Plakiqis' quarter* where one notices the anthroponymic root *Plak* and the Slavonic suffix *-iq*. A quarter in Nekoc of Upper Drenica is called *Plakiq*, whereas another in Vushtr is called *Plakoll*. The ancient name *Plak* may be considered as a late remnant in the surname *Blakaj*, a name which from immemorable times has been that of a quarter near Istog and another in Podieva. It is probable that *Blakaj* has been formed from *Plakaj* through sonorization of the labial *p* to *b* as a rare exception. Or it may have been formed earlier under the influence of the administration of that time.

Our opinion that the name *Plak*, *Pjak* is ancient in these regions can be based on early written sources. One of them is the Registration book of the Shkodra Sandjak of 1485, according to which an inhabitant of the Çupeva village of the region was called *Pjak*,³ and according to the same document two inhabitants of the Lower Baran village, a village not far from Llapusha near Peja, were called *Plak*⁴ etc. M. Lotuvad lately mentions some *Plakiq*⁵ near Koloshini.

2 I have heard this legend from the 65-year old man Salih Dobruna and the 62-year old Fetah Doçi, inhabitants of the village of Llazica.

3 S. Pulaha, *Registration Book of the Shkodra Sandjak of 1485*, the presentation, introduction, transliteration, translation and comments by Selami Pulaha. Notes referring to this text will be abbreviated to S. Pulaha, «DRSSH», Tirana 1974, p. 300.

4 Ibidem, p. 282.

5 Dr. Milisav Lutovać. *Ibarski Kolašin*, Beograd 1954, pp. 99, 100, 103.

Returning to the problem of the anthroponym *Mak*, it is necessary to recall that, on the basis of patronyms — surnames in which this anthroponym is found, one is convinced that in the past it was in frequent use among the people of Kosova. Even today the form *Make* is found as a woman's name in Llapusha among the Albanians of catholic religion. Apart from Llapusha, in an expedition organized by the Albanological Institute in the Highlands of Gallapi of Kamenica, we have found this name in an ancient habitation which no longer exists, in the following microtoponyms: *Mak's* stream, or otherwise the stream of Tahir *Mak*, the meadow of Ram *Mak*, *Mak's* cemetery, etc., which still exist among the inhabitants of Tygjec. This anthroponym has survived in the names of the big Albanian quarters of *Makoll*, which are in great numbers and which I may name, one in Marec of Gallap, another in the village of Polac of Drenica, and a third which is known as the *Makaj* quarter in Koret of Morava. In these names *Makete*, *Makoll*, *Makaj*, etc., and perhaps in the names of the villages *Maqiteve* of the Suhareka region, which in 1591 is found in the written form *Maqeta*⁶ (through the palatalization *Mak-Maq*), *Makresh*, of the region of Gjilan which in 1455 is found as *Majkros*⁷, as well as *Makermal* of Lower Drenica, we notice a great variety; even double suffixes of the anthroponym *Mak*.

Among early written sources, as far as I have been able to discover, the anthroponym *Mak* appears rarely as a personal name.

According to the chrysobull of Dečan of 1330, the

6 S. Pulaha, *Economic and Demographic Data on the Region of Hoça*, The cadastral registration of 1591 in «Historical Studies» Tirana, 1976, no. 2 p. 119. In future notes this written source will be abbreviated to *Economic Data*...

7 Oblast *Bramkoviča*, «Orjentalni Institut», Sarajevo 1972, p. 266. In further notes it will be abbreviated to «OB».

father of an inhabitant of Dečan was called *Makjedoll*,⁸ a name which may be a composition of the personal names *Mak* and *Dol*. In the chrysobull of Tzar Dušan which defined the boundaries of the property of the church of Prizren, in 1384 the microtoponym *Potok Makečevski*,⁹ is mentioned in Prizren. Whereas in 1591 in the village Dolina Krusha (today big Krusha) we find it in a somewhat different form, as *Majkos*.¹⁰

According to reliable oral data, which I have gathered in Llazica, the Bujan quarter is not less known than the *Maketë* quarter, ancient traces of which are today preserved in the microtoponyms which surround it: the Bujan dale, the Bujan fields, the Bujan cemetery, the Bujan way, etc. We may also mention the anthroponym *Buj* (Bujan, bujup) which can be found in the name of the big quarter *Bujupi* (of more than 60 households) of the village of Arllat, east of Llapusha.

In early sources we find traces of the anthroponym *Bujan*. According to the Dečan chrysobull the anthroponym is found in the village of Čabiq, which is not far from the Bujan of Llazica. At that time an inhabitant of Čabiq¹¹ and another from the village of Irzniq¹² of Dečan were called *Bujan*.

In the mediaeval anthroponymy of Llapusha special attention should be paid to the anthroponym *Progon*, the existence of which is proved in that region by means of four microtoponyms, which even today exist in those

8 Miloš S. Mikojević, «Glasnik srpskog učenog društva», II odeljenje, knjiga XII, *Dečanske Hrisovulje*, Beograd 1880, p. 81. In the following text this written source will be abbreviated to M. S. Milojević, «GSUD».

9 «GDSS», p. 302.

10 S. Pulaha, *Economic Data...* no. 2, p. 105.

11 M. S. Milojević, «GSUD», p. 60.

12 Ibidem, p. 54.

regions. Prof. E. Çabej¹³, prof. I. Ajeti¹⁴, prof. M. Domi¹⁵ and many others are of the opinion that during the Middle Ages this anthroponym belonged to the Albanian ethnos. The inhabitants of Kjeve and those of the near-by villages of Sverrke of Gash and Perrçeves call *Progonica* a place near Gradine. There is no doubt that here we have to do with the ancient Albanian anthroponym *Progon* and the Slavonic suffix — respectively Serbo-Croatian *-ic* (ë). A road in Sverrke of Gash, which leads to the place of *Progonica* of Kjeve, is known by the name the road of *Pragani* of Sallak where the name *Progon* has been dissimilated into *Pragan*. The inhabitants of Çabiqi long since have called a stream *Progon*, and on the same stream a small place is called the *woods of Progon*, today there is no sign of the woods. These examples clearly prove that in the past there were people in this region who were called *Progon*.

In mediaeval writings the anthroponym *Progon* emerges as very ancient and widespread in different regions inhabited by Albanians. According to A. Solojev, about 1199-1216 this was the name of an independent Al-

13 Dr. E. Çabej, *On the Genesis of Albanian Literature*, Shkodra 1939, p. 22: «Lurat, Zhulat, Progonat... from the linguistic point of view are nothing other than collective plurals (Progonat = the descendants of Progon)...»

14 Idriz Ajeti, *The Presence of Albanian in the Dialects of the Slavonic Population of the Balkan Peninsula in the Light of Their Language and Toponymy*, at the «2nd Conference of Albanological Studies» III, Tirana 1969, p. 118: «In toponyms the names emerge: Shingjon, in Crnojevica Rijeka a village has the name Progonović (from the Albanian name Progon)...»

15 M. Domi, *Notes on Some Coincidences and Analogies of Suffixes of the Illyrian Language and Albanian*, in «Scientific Bulletin», no. 1, Shkodra 1972, p. 126... there is a many-sided coincidence of the Illyrian suffixes with the Albanian suffixes: «...the name of the brotherhood which lived in the hamlet or the village has been used to name the place. Thus, Progonat: 1. the people of Progonat, their family...»

banian ruler, who was known as Dimitrije, the son of Progon who «was king in Kruja and its surroundings, in the country Arbanum»¹⁶. *Progon*¹⁷ was the name of an inhabitant brought to court from the extinct village Arbanas in 1330, which was situated somewhere near the Eshaj Bridge, a village which was inhabited by Albanians¹⁸ according to the chrysobull of Dečan. A certain Nikolla Progonović is mentioned according to Adem Hanxhiq in the first half of the 15th century among the many Albanian inhabitants of Novoberda.¹⁹ Apart from this, the example of Progonović as a surname or nickname can be found in 1434 in the name Gon Prognov, in the regions of Novoberda.²⁰ Progonin as a dubious owner of a property, which the church of Tetova had violated, can be found in 1346 in the district of Tetova.²¹ In later Turkish documents, this anthroponym emerges more often. Hence, two inhabitants of Junik 1485 were called Progon²² whereas in 1591 in the village of Buskidol, today

16 Dr. Aleksander Solovjev, *Nepoznat, ugovor Dubrovnika s arbanaskim vladarom iz početka XIII veka*, Beograd 1933, p. 2.

17 M. S. Milojević, «GSUD», p. 55.

18 Radomir Ivanović, *Dečanski Katuni*, «Istoriski Časopis», knj. III Beograd 1952, p. 262: «Katun Arbanasa nalazio se u Niziji i Dukadjinu, u okolini današnjeg sela Greve, koje je i po Hrisovulji bilo naseljeno Arbanasima...»

19 Dr. Adem Handžić, *Nekoliko vijesti o arbanasima na Kosova i Metohiji sredinom XV vijeka*, in the «Symposium on Skanderbeg», Prishtina 1969, p. 208. «Prema Diniću Arbanasi su bili, svakako i dom Georgius Gega i dom Nikola Progonouich, zatim dom Nikola de Tanus de Monamonte.»

20 Mihajlo Dinić, *Iz Dubrovačkog Arhiva*, I, Beograd 1957, p. 64.

21 A. V. Solovjev, *Odabrani spomenici srpskog prava* (od XII u do kraja XV v, Beograd 1926, pp. 129-130: «Popis imanja manastira Bogorodice u Tetovu...»

22 S. Pulaha, *The Altun-Ilia Quarter and Its Population at*

unknown, which then was part of the Hoça region, an Albanian clergyman lived who was known as father *Progon*.²³ I shall add several other examples in which the anthroponym *Progon* has been presented diachronically: in 1330 this anthroponym is mentioned in Llužan²⁴, between Peja and Dečan. Again we find it in 1330 in the then villages of Kusheva²⁵ and Magjupc²⁶ of Montenegro; in 1485 in the village of Morina²⁷ of the Gjakova region and in the village of Daraglat²⁸ which apparently belonged to the Shkodra highlands; in 1591 in the Gjela-gjove-Glagova²⁹ village, which was on the dependancy of Hoça, hence of Llapusha. Finally it is worth while pointing out that there is a continuity of formation of patronyms from the anthroponyms which emerge in the Venetian register of Shkodra to those which emerge in 1485 when brotherhoods or families, which appear in the name *Progon* (*Progan*) quarters, in the villages of Shkodra: Grizha, Prostropat and Koplik.³⁰ M. Lutovać mentions a place of the Orosh village of Koloshin with the name *Progon*,³¹ a microtoponym which helps to prove that in early times, like in Llapusha, here there were people called Progon.

the End of the 5th Century, in «Albanological Investigations», no. 1, Prishtina 1972, p. 201.

23 S. Pulaha; *Economic Data...*, no. 1, p. 138.

24 M. S. Milojević, «GSUD», p. 30.

25 Ibidem, p. 120.

26 Ibidem, p. 61.

27 S. Pulaha, *The Altun-Ilia...* in «Albanological Investigations» history, no. 1, Prishtina 1972, p. 208.

28 S. Pulaha, *Registration book of the Shkodra Sandjak of 1485*, I, Tirana 1974 p. 382.

29 S. Pulaha, *Economic Data...*, no. 2, p. 114.

30 S. Pulaha, *On the Enlivenment of the Relationship Links and the Forming of Tribes in Northern Albania in the 16th-17th Century*, in «Historical Studies», no. 2, Tirana 1975, p. 126.

31 Dr. M. Lutovać, *Ibarski Kolašin*, Beograd 1954, p. 100.

The antroponym *Bil*, *Bile* is found in the regions of Llapusha both in the microtoponyms and in early writings. It is found in the village of Dush i Vogël, which lies on the rocky part of the right bank of the Mirusha river, where we find the old microtoponym *Gurrabili*, the *Gurrabili* clearing, the *Gurrabili* plain etc. I think that as *Gurrabili* is a well known stream (*krua*) of the village which is called the *Kroni i Gurrabilit* (the stream of *Gurrabili*), because the noun *gurrë* (stream) is not used much in these regions, the name *Gurrabili* may be a noun+noun compound in the genitive case *Gurra e Bilit* (the stream of *Bili*), which in the mouth of Albanian speakers with the passage of time was conglutinated into *Gurrabil*. The anthroponym *Bil* can be found in the microtoponyms of Sverrka of Gash: the stream of *Bilefci* and *Bilipalan*. In the microtoponym *Bilefc* we see the anthroponym *Bil* and the suffix — *evc*, *efc*, whereas in the name *Bilipalan*, the first part is the anthroponym *Bil*, whereas, if the second part is not the anthroponym *Pal* plus the suffix — *an*, then it is difficult to say anything exact. In Llapçeve, too, near the microtoponym Gjyteti close to Dushi i Vogël there are traces of the anthroponym *Bil*: a stream is called the stream of *Bilishi*. Whereas a lapid stream that flows between Llapçeva and Petkeviq is called by the inhabitants of these two villages the stream of *Pilisht*. The name *Pilish* in the two microtoponyms is perhaps the anthroponym *Bil* in which the first voiced labial phoneme *b* — was unvoiced to *p* —, and either earlier or later the suffix — *ish* was added and finally assumed the form it has today *Pilish*. In the *Balinca* village of Llapusha there is the microtoponym the *Bilinat meadows* where in *Bilinat* we see the anthroponymic root *Bil*. In other regions outside Llapusha this anthroponym is found in the Ruho of Peja in the microtoponym the meadow of *Bil*³².

The ancient date of this anthroponym is proved in

32 Abdullah Zymber informed me of this microtoponym.

writings. According to the Dečan chrysobull, in the village of Çabiq of this region a certain Bil Nunoj³³ is mentioned, among many Christian and Slavonic anthroponyms as well as among the anthroponyms Kuqevc, Dedosh, Tishan, Bujko, Butko etc., which are names of inhabitants of this village, which without doubt were Albanians. Later, in 1455 from another register of the names of the inhabitants of Çabiq, which were also Christian and Slavonic, as well as with names which belonged exclusively to the Albanian ethnos, such as Baliq, etc., there are persons named *Bil* such as «Radislav the son of *Bil*; Radica the son of *Bil*, and *Bil* his brother»³⁴. This village in 1330 was the biggest of the Dečan monastery but today it has only 70 households, of which three are Serbian and the rest Albanian. There we heard that in the *Buzhale* quarter of Catholic religion there was a female name *Bile*, which in the context of cryptocatholicism which still exists in these parts, rules out the possibility of the name *Bile* being derived from *Sabile*, or its diminutive *Bile* of oriental origin. However, this name is ancient and preserved as a fossil through the regeneration of personal names. The fact that among the five widows of the village of Trudna (today Trude) of Llap, in 1455, two were called *Bile* «Bila a widow..., the widow of Bili..., the other Bila a widow»³⁵ speaks in support of our thesis. Documents show that many other inhabitants were called *Bil*. This anthroponym can be found in 1348 in the microtoponym *Bilijanice* which, according to the chrysobull of the church of Prizren, was somewhere near the villages Selce and Shpinadi³⁶ of Prizren. The anthroponym *Bil*, *Bile*, *Bilun* are found more often in 1455. We

33 M. S. Milojević, «GSUD», p. 21.

34 «OB» p. 21: «Jovan, sin Todora; bile njegov brat; Radica, sin Bila».

35 Ibidem, p. 85: «Bila, udovica; Bilova udovica; Bila druga, udovica».

36 «GDSS», p. 302.

find it in Vushtëri³⁷ in the then village of Prilepnice,³⁸ in the village of Dolnja Nerodimlja³⁹, in the village of Gërbovë⁴⁰ which was situated north of Novobërda. In the middle of the 15th century we find it again in the regions of Novobërda,⁴¹ whereas in 1330 in the village Dobra Reka of Montenegro, an inhabitant was called Bil⁴². This anthroponym was used by the Albanians during the Middle Ages, as for example the poet of the Arbëreshi of Italy in the beginning of the 18th century was called Binard Bilota⁴³. In his surname we find the anthroponym *Bil* which is even older than the beginning of the 18th century, which apparently the Arbëreshi took with them to Italy when they migrated from Albania to the new country. Moreover, a quarter of the village of Bradosan of Opoja is called *Bilaj*, whereas one of Karbuliq of Kaçanik is *Bilak*.

The age of the anthroponym *Bil* in Dush i Vogël is proved by the following microtoponyms of contemporary villages: *Pirra*, *Shpija Pirr's Tyrbja Januz Vukit*, *Trolli Jonuz Vukit*, *Dandush't*, *Ksollat e Dushit*, *Çuka Dushit*, *Prroni Bic's*, *Vorret e Bic's*, *Vneshtat e Bic's*, etc., in which we also find ancient anthroponyms which are found in early sources. From these microtoponyms of the anthroponymic type the name *Pirre* appears to be very ancient, although as far as I have been able to study, I have not been able to trace it in ancient writings. We find it in the surname *Pirraky* of a quarter of the Sankoc village of Upper Drenica, in the surname *Piraj* in

37 «OB», p. 29: «Bile, sin Mihacâ.»

38 Ibidem, p. 185, «Bila, udovica.»

39 Ibidem p. 121, «Oliver Bilun».

40 Ibidem, p. 175, «Petar, sin Bile.»

41 M. Dinić, *Iz Dubrovackog Arhiva*, knj. I, Beograd 1957, p. 65, «Boicho Dmitrouich foxer piego per lui Stipan Bilj».

42 M. S. Milojević, «GSUD», p. 44.

43 B. Bilota, *Skanderbeg's Sword from Lower Dibra*, Tirana 1967, p. 7.

Pazharan of the Gjilan district and in the surname *Pireve* of a quarter in Lower Lupç of Podieva.

As for the microtoponyms *Trolli Januz Vukit* and *Tyrbja Januz Vukit*, in which the Slavonic anthroponym *Vuk* is an old one, I shall not discuss it in this paper, because the problem of the Slavonic anthroponyms among the Albanians of these regions is part of a broader study. Among them I shall analyse the anthroponym *Bic*, which has long been established in the microtoponyms mentioned, from which we conclude that an inhabitant called *Bic* must have lived here. In the microtoponyms of Dushi i Vogël we find traces of *Bic* in Llapusha and Volljaka in the microtoponyms *Prroi Bic's* and *Brija Bic's*. Whereas outside Llapusha this anthroponym exists in the name of the quarters *Bicaj* in Vrella of Peja and another in Koliq of Gallap of Podujeva.

This anthroponym emerges frequently in early writings. In the then village Arbanas an inhabitant *Bis Dos*⁴⁴ is mentioned since 1330. I am of the opinion that this name cannot be transcribed in Albanian as *Bythëdosë*. Whereas, according to a Turkish source of the year 1591, among the inhabitants of the village of Ratkoc, not far from Dushi i Vogël there were some called *Bic Buça*, *Gjon Biçi*, *Pejo Bici* and *Deja Bici*.⁴⁵ In the same source we find that two inhabitants of the village of Sopnik were called *Hajdar Bici* and *Mahmut Bici*.⁴⁶

In the village of Dečan today there are three households of Orthodox religion of the Gashi family, in which «djemt e Lik's» («boys of Lik»)⁴⁷ are mentioned. Here, some scholars see the very ancient Albanian anthroponym *Like* which is preserved by the inhabitants of Çabiq as a relic. The well-known Polish linguist, V. Cimohovski,

44 M. S. Milojević, «GSUD», p. 55.

45 S. Pulaha, *Economic Data...*, no. 1, p. 172.

46 Ibidem, p. 139.

47 Jetullah Krasniqi, 54 years old, an inhabitant of Çabiq informed me of Lik's boys.

maintains that this is an ancient Illyrian name,⁴⁸ Skënder Gashi is of the same opinion when speaking about the antroponymic Illyrian-Albanian continuity.⁴⁹ We must say that in the village of Damanek of Llapusha, an Albanian quarter is called *Likaj*, and in this quarter today there are inhabitants called *Like*, which, they say, is a name of one of their ancestors; in the Shala region of Bajgora, in the village of Bistrica, there was a surname *Likaj* where the continuity of the former anthroponym *Like* exists. This anthroponym is found also in earlier writings. Among the many inhabitants of the former villages of the region of Hoça who in 1591 had the name *Like*, I shall mention those in the villages of Denjan (Ali Lika),⁵⁰ Ratkoc (Dida Lika and Pejo Lika),⁵¹ and Dolina Potoçani (Lika Gjini and Gjon Lika),⁵² etc. We may thus conclude that this ancient anthroponym was in use until recently in these regions.

The anthroponym *Kil* is preserved in the name of the *Kilaj* quarter or the *Kiliq* quarter of the village of Lubizhda and in the microtoponyms around this quarter: *arat e Hamzë Kil's*, *Livadhi Arif Kil's*, *Zabeli Kil's*, *stani Kil's*, *Bunari Kil's*, *Maqilla* and *Ledina Maqill's*. The two latter microtoponyms *Maqilla* and *Ledina Maqill's* which are found on the way to the village of Carravanë belong, in my opinion, to a much earlier period. The microtoponym *Maqilla* is found alongside the aforementioned microtoponyms created from the anthroponym *Kil*. Therefore it is evident that the microtoponym *Maqilla* is an early formation, a compound of the anthroponyms *Mak* and *Kile*.

48 V. Cimohosvski, *The Origin of the Albanian Language*, in the «Bulletin of Social Sciences», no. 2, Tirana 1958, p. 47.

49 S. Gashi, *Illyrian-Albanian Anthroponymic Continuity*, in «The Word», 1.12.1976, Prishtina 1976, p. 10.

50 S. Pulaha, *Economic Data...*, no. 1, p. 139.

51 Ibidem, p. 172.

52 Ibidem, p. 185.

The anthroponym *Kil* of a somewhat different form, *Kilav*, is mentioned in 1455 in the name of the inhabitant of the unidentified village of Bitol near Prishtina.⁵³ At the same time, in 1455, the village of Klečkë of Drenica is written as *Kelačica*, but the possibility that it is read *Kaličica*⁵⁴ cannot be ruled out. Hence we imagine that the ancient anthroponym *Kil* is at the basis of the name of this village. It is difficult to say how old the anthroponym *Kil* of the Kilaj brotherhood on the bank of the Mirush river is, because there are no direct written sources about this brotherhood. The Czech scholar Constandin Jireczek mentions a miner called Kilus (Chilus)⁵⁵ in 1402 in Trepça, as a Roman miner. According to Milišav Lutovać, in this region of Trepça, in the village of Starčević of Koloshin there is a hilly zone called Kilavać,⁵⁶ in which we see the ancient anthroponym *Kil* with a double suffix *-av* and *-ac*.

For the *Millak* quarter of Ujmir we find early writings in the chrysobull of Dečan of 1330, which are more convincing than those for the *Maketa* quarter. This document which defines the boundaries of the property of the monastery of Dečan at Gjyrgjevik (we think the present Gjyrgjevik i Madh), through Shtarica and «the part of Millak», and «Anë e Mallakut»,⁵⁷ mentions it as a microtoponym and I think that it is directly connected

53 «OB», p. 314: «Kilav, sin Radote».

54 Ibidem, p. 229, «Ovdje, kao i kasnije» jednako, a može se čitati: Kelačica i Kilačica (g. 1477, fo 37, fo 40). Današnje selo Klečka južno od sela Rusinovce, s kojima je selo Klečka u sva tri deftera bilo u istom timaru.»

55 V. Skarić, *Staro rudarsko pravo i tekniha u Srbiji i Bosni*, Belgrade 1939, p. 45.

56 Dr. M. Lutovać, op. cit. p. 101: «Selo je na obrajnama brda Kilavca ... Pojedina mesta u selu nose nazive: Golo Brdo... Staro Selo... Aluge (šume), Kilavac...»

57 M. S. Milojević, «GSUD», p. 57.

with the present *Millak* quarter of Ujmir. This is also established by the fact that the name *Millak* as a personal name or as a name of a brotherhood of the first half of the 14th century, continues in the name of the present brotherhood *Millak* which is an anthroponymic continuity that fulfils the condition of territorial coincidence.

The following facts speak in favour of the antiquity of *Millak* quarter of Ujmir:

During the Middle Ages the name *Millak* was frequent in the regions of Kosova. In an aforementioned source we find two inhabitants of the village of Prapačan of Dečan, called *Millak*.⁵⁸ But the *Millak* of Ujmir say that they have «some relations of theirs in Prapačan of Dečan», from which we understand that today there are *Millaks* there, who like the *Millaks* of Ujmir are a continuation of an early anthroponym *Millak*.

Somewhat later, in 1455, an inhabitant of Lower Kopliqi⁵⁹ and another of the village of Terstenik,⁶⁰ both of which belong to Drenica, were called *Millak* though the brotherhood of *Millak* with 60 households could not have extended so much within such a relatively short period of time.

The village of Ujmir is mentioned for the first time in the sources of 1330 in the Dečan chrysobull as *Unjemir*.⁶¹ I think that this is a Slavonic alteration of the Albanian name *Ujmirë*. This is proved by the fact that the Albanian name *Ujmirë* of this village has been preserved in the mother tongue of the inhabitants of this village to this day, when under the influence of the language of the administration it was transliterated into Serb-Croatian as *Dobravoda*. The fact that the Albanian name *Ujmirë* is found in different forms in the language of the adminis-

58 Ibidem, p. 6.

59 «OB», p. 114, «Bogdan, sin Milaka».

60 Ibidem p. 73, «Milak, sin Branka».

61 M. S. Milojević, «GSUD», p. 24.

tration either as an alteration *Unjemir* (1330) or as a translation *Dobravoda* convinces us that the Albanian speakers of the villages around it always used it in that form.

Among the Millaks exist the microtoponyms: *Vorri Nikoll Keq's*, *Ara Zogit*, *Ara Balë*, *Dushit Mullini*, *Rrustem Mill's*, *Udha Mullinit Daut Millakut*, *Arat e Shkreta t'Markit*, *Kisha Petrovic's*, *Zeqirmukt*, *Ranishta Mukit*, *Demushprekt*, *Lugi Buka Ram's*, *Kroni Buka Ram's*, *Udha Buka Ram's*, *Prroni Martinit*, *Kroni Martinit*, *Rrezja Martinit*, etc., where we find many anthroponymic layers.

Among these microtoponyms I shall pick up the microtoponym, *Kisha Petrovičës* (Petrovica church) because this church is ancient. It is first mentioned in the Dečan chrysobull in 1330. According to this source, the Petrovica church was known as «Saint Paul's church»⁶², which was near Čabiqi on the banks of Klina river. Whereas today the inhabitants of Ujmir and those of the nearby villages Čabič, Murge, Sičeve etc., use this toponym to denote a place in which the foundations of a church still can be seen. From this we rightly conclude that the church of that year, known as the church of Saint Paul is identified completely with the present-day microtoponym of the Petrovica church. The presence of other microtoponyms around this place, which are connected with the object which no longer exists such as: *Lugi Kish's* (church dale) *Qafa e Kish's* (church pass), *Guri Kish's* (church rock) etc., speak in favour of our supposition.

The last and most frequent anthroponym of the Middle Ages in the territory of Llapusha is the anthroponym *Bale*. This anthroponym was used in the past for big well-known brotherhoods of the region, from which separate villages were created together with the present Balinca. In the territory of this village there are such microtoponyms as: *Prroni i Kronit Bal's*, *Dushet e Bal's*, *Kroni Bal's*, *Bunari Bal's*, etc. Apart from the name of

62 Ibidem, p. 131.

the village of *Balinca* we find this anthroponym in the name of the big quarter of *Balaj*, which can be found in the villages of Llapusha such as in Sverrka of Gashi, in Gllavera, in Rigjeva, in *Carralluka Balavit* and *Baliqt* or *Balaj* (quarters). Around these quarters and in other villages of this territory where there is no *Balaj* quarter, there are many microtoponyms as traces of the anthroponym *Balë*. In Carralluka this anthroponym exists in the microtoponyms: *Fusha Balaviqe*, *Mrizet Balaviqe*, *Vorret Balaviqe*, *Hani Baliqit*, *Ara Balisë*, etc., in Gllareva *Livadhi Bal's*, and *Sakaki Balaviqe*, in Ujmir — *Ara Balë Dushit*, etc. Besides Llapusha, all over Kosova there are many quarters called *Balaj*, among which in Llapusha of Drenica, Isnig of Dečan, in the villages of Tomoc and Lluga of Podguri of Istog, in Dumnice of Vushtërr, in Doberdolan of Suhareka, in Zobërgja of Shala of Bajgora, etc.

In ancient sources this anthroponym appears in different forms. Hence, in 1455 in the village of Çabiq we find the anthroponym *Baliq*⁶³, who is an inhabitant of this village. In the same village today and for many years a source is known as *Kroni Bal Dushit*. In Gllareva where, as we mentioned above there is the big *Balaj* quarter, Elezović mentions an inhabitant of this village called *Bale* in 1796 and, among other things, he points out that it is a name of the 14th⁶⁴ century. The same author mentions the name *Balia* in 1779 as a surname of an Albanian family in the village of Marina of Drenica. He derives the name of this family from the name *Bale*, which according to him is no longer used.⁶⁵

63 «OB», p. 22; «Dabiziv, sin Balica».

64 G. Elezović, *Rečnik Kosovsko-Metohijskog dijalekta*, I, Beograd 1932, p. 29, «Balja m. ime zapisano u Dk... 1769 god. u s. Gllarevu: (pisa) bano m (ini) n (šenice) u. V. n RJA Bala, m. ime iz XIV.»

65 Ibidem; p. 28: «Balić... 2. arnautsko prezime jedne porodice u s. Marini u Drinici.»

In other regions away from Llapusha this anthroponym emerges in much earlier periods. We find it in 1222-1228 among the anthroponyms: *Doda*, *Tuz*, *Dedoll*, *Buta*, *Mirosh*,⁶⁶ etc., who were then inhabitants of some villages of the Peja region, that belonged to Hvosna, which was then part of the state of Zeta. Judging from their nature these personal names could belong only to the Albanian ethnos. In the Dečan chrysobull this name is found in the villages: Altin, Trebopolje,⁶⁷ Sushiqan⁶⁸ and Tropoja.⁶⁹ From these examples we define the anthroponym which emerges in the village of Sushiqan, because in this village it does not emerge in the form of *Bale*, but as *Balja*, a form in which it is often used even today in the mountainous regions. On page 27 of the Gračanica Chart of 1321 an inhabitant of Gračanica is mentioned under the name Balin⁷⁰. We find the anthroponym *Bale*, *Balshe* regenerated four times in one of the small noble families of the Arbëresh which is mentioned in the first half of the 14th century «as *Balshaj*, a family which, at this time, was in possession of the villages of *Balëz* east of the Shkodra Lake and later extended the *Balshaj* principality including Tivar and Budva in Bosnia, to Prizren⁷¹ on the other side.» This village is mentioned in 1416-1417 as the Baleci township. It is mentioned in the 8 villages of the Shkodra territory where part of the Prekal⁷² brotherhood has its centre. A. Jovoviq

66 Pavle Josef Safarik, *Pamatky Drevniko pisemictvi Jihoslovanuv*, V. Praze, 1873, pp. 6-7.

67 M. S. Milojević, «GSUD», p. 100.

68 Ibidem, p. 122.

69 Ibidem, p. 27.

70 M. Pavlović, *Gračnička Povelja*, in «Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva», III, Skoplje 1928, p. 129; «Balinski sinovi».

71 *History of the Albanian People*, I, Prishtina, 1968 pp. 210-211.

72 S. Pulaha, *Contribution to the Study of the Establishment of the Villages in Northern Albania in the 15th-16th Centuries*, in «Historical Studies», I, Tirana 1975, p. 88.

has spoken about this village or township of *Balëz*, at the basis of which we see the anthroponym *Bale*. Jovović mentions it as a garden *Balëz* on the Maja hill. He adds, further on, that its ruins as a former habitation are known to this day and that «near *Balëz* the village of Gradec exists today.»⁷³ Whereas J. S. Jastrebov, when speaking of the Balshaj of Shkodra calls then *Balesium*, *Balezza*, *Balezum*, *Balezo* and adds that the Greeks in Dukel⁷⁴ called them *Barizi*. This anthroponym emerges in a topical form in 1455 and today we find it in the root of the name of the village of *Balovc* of the region of Pedieva. Hence in the earlier periods this village appears in the form of *Balin Potok*⁷⁵. In 1455 we find many traces of the anthroponym *Bale* all over Kosova in the village of Carraleve⁷⁶ of the region of Shtima in Shtima, in Llapnasella,⁷⁸ in Lismira (Dobërdub)⁷⁹ of Fushkosova, in Brezhnica⁸⁰ of Llapi in Gjurakoc,⁸¹ in the village of Llubnica⁸² of southern Serbia, in the unknown village of Kumatice⁸³ etc. We find it mentioned in 1438, hence a little earlier than the above-mentioned examples in the region of No-

73 A. Jovović, «The Highlands», Belgrade 1923, p. 14.

74 J. S. Jastrebov, *Stara Serbia i Albania*, Beograd 1904, p. 151.

75 «OB», p. 273: «Selo Balin Potok... Ovdje, kao i 1477, iednako: Balin Potok dok bi se u popisu iz 1487 trebalo čitati: Malin Potok... istočno od Podrujeva, što bi, donekle odgovaralo prvom djelu ovog naziva (Balin). Zbog toga nije i sključena da nekadasnje selo Balin Potok odgovar današnjem selu Balovce.»

76 Ibidem, p. 179: «Kostandin, brat Balića».

77 Ibidem, p. 120: «Radina, sin Balića».

78 Ibidem, p. 217: «Stepan, sin Dubalica; Velomir, sin Dubalica».

79 Ibidem, p. 219: «Vlkasin, sin Balica».

80 Ibidem, p. 65, «Božidar Balša».

81 Ibidem, p. 131: «Balša njegov brat».

82 Ibidem, p. 259: «Bogoslav, sin Mijoše: Balin njegov sin».

83 Ibidem, p. 76: «Balić, sin Radislava».

vobërda⁸⁴. Prof E. Çabej has found the anthroponym *Bale* among the Arbëreshi of Italy and says that the Arbëreshi have taken it in early times from Morea or from Albania.⁸⁵

It is difficult to establish whether the anthroponym *Balë* is related to the Albanian word *Bardhë* (white) or *i bardhë*, and, if the connection exists, whether the transition form *Bardhë* to *Balë* has occurred. However the word *Bardhë* is found since the Illyrians as an anthroponym in *Bardhyl*. Prof. I. Ajeti thinks that a group of Slavonic words of the shepherd life of different forms in Montenegro, Bosnia and Hercegovina and other regions of Kosova which have the stem *bal* can be regarded as connected to *bardh*, *i bardhë*⁸⁶. The connection between the words *bal* and *bardh* is possible because of the fact that in 1455 in the village of Çirez (which then belonged to Llapi and today to upper Drenica) it is mentioned twice as an anthroponym of the form *Barlija*⁸⁷ which transcribed in *Serbo-Croatian* from a Turkish document reminds us of its original form which is the personal Albanian name *Bardh*.

... In conclusion I shall stress that many pre-Islamic anthroponyms have been left out in this paper. We shall mention here only a few of them such as *Hode* in the *Hodajt* of the Zabergje, *Shuk* in the *Shukaj* of Vermica Doç of the Doçt of Llazica, *Bob* of the *Kole-bolët* who had settled in Dërsnik, *Mal* in *Maloke* of Plloçica, *Lac* of the *Lacaj* of Llashkanderoc and *Balinçe*, *Pac* of the *Pacaj*

84 M. Dinić, Iz Dubrovackog Arhiva, Beograd, p. 80: «Todora surela de Balich die dar piego per lui Vlaia de gon.»

85 E. Çabej, *Problems of the Origin of the Arbëreshi Settlements in Italy Mainly in the Light of the Language and the Personal names*, in «Philological Studies», no. 2, Tirana 1972, p. 32.

86 I. Ajeti, *On the History of the Early Linguistic Albanian-Slavonic Relations*, in «Albanological Investigations» — philology, 11, Prishtina 1974, pp. 39-40.

87 «OB», p. 320: «Bogdan, brat Barlija; Barli, sin Kodina».

of Llaskandrenoc, Goç of the Goçt of Lubizhda and Turjaka, *Bardh* of *Sadik Bardhaj* of Dobërdoll, *Macul* of *Delimacul* of Çabiqi, *Xhek* of the *Xhekaj* of Zabërdje, *Duk* of the *Dukolls* (Kryezis) of Bubavec, *Mikul* of the *Mikuliqi* of Bubli, *Kuke* of the *Kukiq* who moved to Damane, *Fyll* of the *Fyllaj* of Caravik, *Zog* of the *Zogaj* of Turjaka and Llazica, *Rud* of the *Rudaj* in Panorc, Gremnike and Caravike, *Bub* and *Bube* of the *Bubaks* of Shkarashnik, *Vat* and *Vate* of the *Vatolls* of Shkarashnik, *Kaj* of the *Kajolls* of Caravik, *Uke* of the *Ukajs* of Vermica, *Dush* and *Dushe* of the *Dandushs* of Dushi i Vogël, *Shak* and *Shake*, *Galan* and *Gale*, *Dil* and *Dile*, *Lush* and *Lushe*, etc., anthroponyms these which according to mediaeval sources, appear to be very old.

LATIF MULAKU

Prishtina

**ON SOME MEDIAEVAL ALBANIAN TOPONYMS
OF KOSOVA**

The toponyms which I have analysed in this study are quite old — they belong to the Middle Ages. Some of them continue to be used even in our days with the original name of the Middle Ages, whereas a few other toponyms were replaced at a certain period with new toponyms for different reasons. The phenomena of the creation of new toponyms and of the replacement of the old ones occurred in most cases because of the exchanges or the contacts between ethnically different peoples. In some cases the toponyms have changed during different invasions.

The toponymy of Kosova and the neighbouring regions is very heterogenous from the linguistic point of view because place-names originate from different languages...

Therefore, different strata of toponyms have been created during different periods in different languages and in different ways. Therefore, the examination of

toponyms is neither easy nor simple. Genuine scientific results of lasting value can be achieved with special care and objective scientific attention.

The toponyms of Kosova belong to different periods: Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the New era. The toponyms of the Antiquity are fewer, whereas those of the New era are the majority.

As far as the ancient Albanian toponyms are concerned, in general, they represent a great specific difficulty, because in the past they have been written in documents in foreign languages such as Slavonic, Turkish, Italian, Latin, etc. Moreover, some of the people who wrote these names were not Albanian, so the Albanian names appear in non-Albanian alphabets and with mistakes. Hence a good knowledge of the language of the original document is required.

In addition the names have been created in several ways, most often in the following manner: naming of habitations after geographical peculiarities of the place, according to the characteristic features of the plant and animal life of the place, ethnical character of the population, the name of the tribe, the brotherhood, and the head of family. However there are also places the names of which have been decided by the administration of the rulers of the time.

One of the most characteristic features of the toponymy of Kosova is the existence of bilingual toponyms, (and in rare cases) trilingual toponyms such as *Ujmir* (in Albanian), *Dobre Voda* (in Serbo-Croatian), *Bjeshkët e Nemuna! Prokletije, Ferizaj — Uroševac, Drini i Bardhë — Beli Drin, Pejë — Peč — Ipek* (Turkish), etc.

In this paper I shall mainly consider six Albanian toponyms of Mediaeval Kosova from the ethymological, historical and synchronical aspects. I have put them in chronological order.

1. Bëllgarski Village

In the Middle Ages it was the name of a village 7-8 km north of Mitrovica on the right bank of Ibri. This toponym is mentioned for the first time about the year 1315 in the St. Stephan chrysobull (in Serbo-Croatian: Svetostefanska Krisovulja) as part of the Serbian state of Rashka in the old Slavonic from *katune Bëllgarski**¹ which in Albanian means the village of the Bulgarians. In the first place the question is whether this mediaeval village exists today and whether it can be localized? We can answer this question positively. The mediaeval *Katun Bëllgarski* is the present administrative *Sërbović* (serbo-croat. Srbovac) which is known as *Bugarić* both among the Albanians and the Serbians. It is situated to this day where it was in the Middle Ages.

How was this toponym created, judging from linguistic considerations? What changes has it undergone during the passage of time?

Regrettably I must admit that this toponym cannot be found in any written document before 1315. Therefore, we can say nothing definite about the existence of this village before that date. However the supposition that it was created before the aforementioned date, that is, in the Early Middle Ages or in the Later Antiquity, is plausible. Apart from this, it is known that the noun *katun(d)* is a word of the Albanian language².

Therefore this village might have been inhabited by Albanian shepherds of the early Middle Ages or the an-

* Because of printing difficulties these words will not appear in old Slavonic letters, but with the present Albanian alphabet.

1 Istoriski Institut NR Crne Gore, Imenik geografskih naziva srednjovekovne Zete, Titograd 1959, p. 43.

2 Sh. N. Jokl. *Katun*, published in «Indogermanische Forschungen», 33 Strasburg, pp. 420-433.

cient Ilyrians who called it by the very widespread place-name *katun(d)*.

With the Slav invasions and the spread of the mediaeval Slavonic states in these regions, the ancient local population was replaced by the Slav population or assimilated, but the toponym *Katun* continued in use. This phenomenon has often occurred in the historical past.

It is possible that this village was first called simply *katun*, then the qualifier *Bëllgarski* was added to distinguish it from other *Katuns* which were quite a few in the regions of present-day Kosova during the Middle Ages. We shall mention one example. In the Dečan feud there were, during the 14th century, tens of villages, which belonged to the Albanian shepherds, called *katun*³. The fact that this toponym was defined with the name *Bëllgarski* shows that during the 13th or 14th century Bulgarians have lived in that village.

In the beginning of the Ottoman occupation the forementioned village appears in the register of the Vuku region in the census of 1455, in the mistaken form *Brgari* (= *Bërgari*, *Bëllgari*) that is with *r* instead of *ll*.⁴

During the later period of the Ottoman occupation this village emerges in the form of the Serbian language *Bugarić*, hence with the Serbian suffix *-ić*, which is very productive in toponyms for example: *Kopilić*, *Markonjić*, *Ribarić*, *Leposavić* and others. In other words, the qualified name (*katund*) fell out of use, whereas the qualifier name (*bëllgarski*) replaced the name *katun*. In this manner the adjective assumed the function of the noun, i.e. became a substantive form of the name *Bëllgar* (Bulgarian), then *Bugarić*. This is a common phenomena in the Serbo-Croatian language in place-

3 See M. Tërnavá, *The Albanians in the Dečan Feud... of the 14th Century*, published in the «Bulletin of the Philological Faculty of Prishtina», XI, 1974.

4 See Orijentalni Institut, *Oblast Brankovića*, Sarajevo 1972; p. 82.

names: *Bânjska* (from *Banjska Banja*) *Gradsko* (from *Gradsko Naselje*), *Kosovo* (from *Kosovo Polje*), *Francuska* (from *Francuska Zemlja*), *Ribarić* (from *Selo Ribarić*)⁵ etc.

In this manner, the original word, the first word *Katun* of the toponym as replaced with *Bëllgar*, *Bullgar* then *Bugarić*.

Today the village is called *Bugarić* both in Serbo-croatian and in Albanian, whereas administratively it appears in Serbo-croatian *Srbovac- Srbovca*, in Albanian *Sërbofc -Sërbovci*.

Now the village is inhabited only by Serbs. The replacement of the toponym *Bugarić* with *Srbovac* was an administrative act at the time of old Yugoslavia.

2. *Shalinovicë-a* (In Serbo-Croatian *Šaljinovica, Šaljinova*).

To this day there is a village northeast of Peja in the commune of Istog called *Shalinovica*. As far as I have been able to investigate, this village emerges for the first time in a Slavonic document about the year 1315 — in the St. Stephan chrysobull (*Svetostefanska krisovula*) in the genitive of *Shalinovcë* («ot Salinovcë»)⁶.

A hundred and ten years later, in 1485, it is recorded in Turkish in the Registration Book of the Shkodra⁷ Sandjak as *Shalinoviça* (hence *ç* instead of *c* which does not exist in the Turkish language). Then it had 26 households.

The same village is recorded in the so-called *Katastig*

5 M. Stevanović, *Savremeni srpskohrvatski jezik*, I, Beograd 1964, p. 20.

6 *Imenik geografskih naziva...*, Zete, Titograd 1959, p. 110.

7 *Registration Book of the Shkodra Sandjak of 1485*, I, Tirana 1974, p. 309.

(or register book) of Dević of Drenica in 1774, in Serbian in the form of Salinovica (and Saljinovina).⁸

I have long ago expressed my opinion (since 1974 at the International Scientific Congress of Studies on Southern Europe, in Bucharest, as well as in 1976, at the International Meeting of Slavonists), that this toponym is formed from the Albanian word *shalë* with Serbo-croatian suffixes, which is very productive in slav toponymy.

Hence, from *shalë* (of Albanian) + *inovac* or *inovica* (Slanovic) the Serbo-croatian name of the village *Šalinovac* or *Šalinovica*, Albanian *Shalinofc* or *Shalinovicë-a* was created.

Such combinations with linguistic elements of two different languages are found in other cases, eg. *Majevica* (a mountain in Bosnia) from Alb. *majë* (peak) + Slav. *evica*, *Moravica* (a river in Serbia) from Illyr. *Moravë* + Slav. *evica*, *Niš ava* from Illyr. *Nish* + Slav. *ava*, *Niševac* — *Nishavac* (a village in Serbia) from Illyr. *Nish* + Slav. *evac*, — *avac*.

On the other hand, it is known that the Albanian word *shalë* — both as a simple word, a derivative or a composite is widely used in the entire Albanian toponymy and patronymy, e.g.: *Shalë-a* (a region and tribe in Dukagjin of northern Albania), *Shalë-a* of Bajgora (an Albanian territory and tribe in Kosova), *Shalës-i* (a river in southern Albania), *Shalës* (a village in Çamëria), the *Shala Hill*,⁹ *Shala*, the *Shaljans*, *Shalëgjati* (patronyms) for eg.: *Mark Shalëgjati* in the story «The Highlander's Hunting Party» by K. Kristoforidhi, *Gjon Shala*, *Hasan Shala*, *Ukë Shaljani*,

I have published a separate study in 1963¹⁰ on the

8 G. Elezović, *Rečnik Kosovsko-metohiskog dijalekta*, II, Beograd 1935.

9 E. Çabej, «Philological Studies», 1/1966; Tirana; pp. 8-9.

10 L. Mulaku, *From the Toponymy of Kosova*, published in «Zbornik filozofskog preklata u Prištini», 1/1963, pp. 179-183.

toponyms and patronyms *Shalë-a* (of Dukagjin of Albania) and *Shalë-a* of (Bajgora) in Kosova.

3. Ujmir-i

This is the name of a village east of Peja near the Drini i Bardhë river. It emerges in the present meaning for the first time in a Slavonic document in 1330, in the Dečan chrysobull where it is written in the instrumental case of the Slavonic (= sŏ Unjěmirom), which means «with Ujěmir».¹¹ Without doubt this toponym has been created from the words of the Albanian language *ujë* + (*të*) *mirë*. As far as the orthography of this name is concerned, in the chrysobull everything is in order, each sound is correctly written, apart from the j, which is written nj. Maybe the writer has made this mistake because the sounds nj and j were interchangeable, they are so even now because of their proximity. Apart from this the writer was not an Albanian speaker and foreigners often make mistakes when writing Albanian names.

This toponym was also registered during the second half of the 15th century in the Turkish registers of 1455, 1477 and 1487; it appears there in the Turkish alphabet of the time as Onemir (Onamir).¹² The second part of the compound (*mirë*) is written correctly whereas the first part (*ujë*) is written with *o* instead of *u* and *ne* instead of *jë*, mistakes which can be explained by the fact that the writers were not Albanian speakers and that with the Ottoman alphabet the sounds of the Albanian language could not be transcribed adequately.

Today the name of this village has the dialectical form *Ujmir-i*. In Serbo-croatian it is called *Dobra Voda*. It is certain that here we have to do with a translitera-

¹¹ *Imenik gerografskih naziva...*, p. 105.

¹² Orijentalni Institut, *Oblast Brankovića*, Sarajevo 1972; p. 113.

tion from Albanian to Serbo-croatian. The toponym *Dobra Voda* is a late one. It is not found in any document in any language, not even in documents in Serbian. As far as I have been able to find, it has been registered for the first time by Gl. Elezović in his Dictionary¹³ in 1932. According to my opinion the toponym under discussion has been translated into Serbo-Croatian for administrative purposes during old Yugoslavia, or more precisely half a century ago. Since then the village has two names (*Ujmir* and *Dobra Voda*). The translation is done either by the local population, or by the administration. This toponym appears to have been translated in the second way.

K. Jireček and J. Radonić say that at the time of the Nemanija the village *Unjëmirë* (Selo *Unjemire* u Hvosnu) is mentioned more than once. These two authors write: «Mesto Unjemir je starinsko srpsko livno ime».¹⁴ I think there is no doubt that the name *Ujëmirë* is an Albanian word, and not a Serbian one, therefore the explanation given by these historians is incorrect.

4. Bunjaj

Is the name of a village in the southwestern part of present *Hass* or former *Shullan*. This village appears for the first time in literature in 1330 in the Dečan chrysobull as *Bunjaj*, or with the Serbian suffix *-ane* as *Bunjane*. This suffix is very productive in toponymy, e.g.: *Gorane*, *Reçan(e)*, *Barane*, *Rasan(e)*, *Labjane*, *Osljan(e)*, *Orlan(e)*, *Matičane*. Hence in the place name *Bunjane* we see the Slavonic suffix. Among the Albanian speakers this name

13 G. Elezović, *Rečnik Kosovsko-metohiskog dijalekta*, Beograd 1932.

14 K. Jireček—J. Radonić, *Istoriја Srba*, II, Beograd 1952, p. 275.

emerges regularly in the form of Bunjaj (hence without *-ane*) and continues to exist so to this day. In the form of *Bunjaj* and *Bunjak* i.e. with the suffix *-ak* this name is also used as a patronym of a great number of Albanian families in Kosova and in Albania. The ancestors of the *Bunjaks* and the *Bunjaj* have their origin in the village of *Bunjaj*. In the Albanian language many place names (villages, towns, regions, etc.,) become patronyms. There are many such examples in our patronymy.

As for the ethymology of the toponym *Bunjaj*, I am of the opinion that it is derived from the word *bun* which means mountain huts covered with boards and timber¹⁵ plus the old suffix *-anj*. Hence *Bunjanj* was created from *bun+anj* and it was used to designate a village of shepherds with mountain huts.

As for the suffix *-aj* it is known that it is very productive in Albanian patronymy and toponymy for example: *Gjinaj* (from *Gjin*), *Kolaj*, *Nikaj*, *Lekaj*, *Zogaj*, *Dadaj*, *Gimaj*, *Mulaj*, *Malaj*, *Letaj*, *Bibaj*, *Demaj*, *Pulaj*, etc. It is also known that the «first form of this suffix was *-anj*»,¹⁶ «According to N. Jokl this suffix is derived from the Latin suffix *-anius*».¹⁷

5. Gur-i

Is the name of a mountain village near the border between Albania and Yugoslavia, in the region of Hass. In 1330 in the Dečan chrysobull appears the name of the village of *Goraj* which is situated between the Val-

15 E. Çabej, *Ethymological Studies in the Field of Albanian*, II-A-B, Tirana 1976.

16 A. Xhuvani-E. Çabej, *The Suffixes of the Albanian Language*, Tirana 1962, p. 9.

17 A. Xhuvani-E. Çabej, op. cit., p. 9.; I. Ajeti, *History of the Albanian Language*, Prishtina 1969, p. 118.

bona river and Reka (e keqe), and belonged to «the feud of the Dečan monastery».¹⁸ It is probable that this *Goraj* of the Middle Ages is the present *Guri i Hasit*. Apparently the vowel o is written there mistakenly as u by the foreign hand. As for the suffix -aj, -anj, it does not present any problem, because (as I said above) it has been and remains very widespread in the Albanian patronymy and toponymy.

The name of this village emerges more clearly in a Turkish register of the end of the 16th century, where it is written in the form of *Curi* (= *Guri*).¹⁹ In a report of 1641 of the Albanian bishop of Tivar, Gj. Bardhi, this toponym is written in Albanian in the definite form *Guri*. Later, in 1685, the name of the village *Guri* is written by the well-known Albanian writer P. Bogdani in his work «Çeta e profetëve», stressing that *Guri i Hassit të Thatë* is his birthplace and that of his uncle Andrea Bogdani.²⁰ S. Gaspari, too, mentions this village in his report in 1671 and writes its name as *Guranj*, i.e. with the Albanian suffix -anj, which is quite frequent in the toponymy of the Albanian language, for example: *Zoganj* (today Zogaj) from *zog* (bird) + *anj* (-aj) as well as *Martinaj*, *Nikaj*, *Curraj*, etc.

Among the villages of Hass Sh. Gjeçov in one of his works writes and speaks with love of «*Guri* of the great Bogdan».

Without doubt this geographical name is derived from the Albanian word *gur* (stone). The village has taken this name from the rocks and rough nature of the place. It is worth mentioning that with the derivatives and compounds of this word many places have been named in our country e.g.: *Guri i Bardhë*, *Guri i Thatë*, *Guri i Topit*, *Gurakuq*, *Guraj*, *Gurapesh*, *Gurishë*, etc.

18 M. Tërnavë, op. cit., p. 261.

19 S. Pulaha, *The Regions of the Dukagjin Sandjak*, in «Historical Studies», Tirana 1972.

20 P. Bogdani, *Cuneus Prophetarum*, Padova 1685.

6. Shulla-nj.

This is the old name of present-day *Has*, that is, the region between Prizren, Gjakova, Drini i Bardhë, Erenik and Valbona. This region has about 80 villages today.

According to mediaeval Slavonic sources it emerges that in the 13th century (1208-1215) this mountainous region was called Patkovo.²¹ Jastrebov writes that the territory which today is called *Has*, was called Patovski Del²² in the Middle Ages. M. Tërnavë correctly points out that «Patkova is mentioned as a parish in written documents in 1208, then in 1330 in the Dečan chrysobull and in the Shën-Archangel chrysobull of Prizren.»²³

M. Nikoliq writes that «The mediaeval parish of Patkova included the present territory known as *Hass*, situated in Kosova and Albania»²⁴.

S. Pulaha points out that in the 16th century according to two Turkish registers of 1571 and 1591, one part of this region was called with the Slavonic name *Rudina* and the other part Domeshtič.²⁵ The territories of this region, he adds, are also recorded in it under the Turkish name: *Nahije të Hassit* (the *Has* region).

The 17th century Italian and Albanian sources give this territory with two names: with the Albanian toponym *Shullâ-ni* and the Turkish one *Hass*. Without doubt the former was created by the local Albanian population, whereas the second by the Turkish administration. Both toponyms were used for a certain time parallelly. However, later, through administrative force the name of

21 *Imenik geografskih naziva...*, Zete, 1959, p. 86.

22 Sh. M. Filipović, *Has pod Paštrikom*, Sarajevo 1958, p. 7.

23 *Albanians in the Dečan Feud...*, Bulletin of the Faculty of Philosophy of Prishtina, XI, 1974, pp. 262-263.

24 Quoted from M. Tërnavë, op. cit.

25 S. Pulaha, «Albanological Investigations», historical series, Prishtina, p. 32.

the Turkish rulers *Hass* prevailed. P. Mazreku of Prizren, who has left two very clear notes about this problem in a report in 1663, among other things writes: «Nearby (near Prizren) there is a territory called *Shullâ* which in Latin means dry place. It is also called *Hass* and has many villages. It is inhabited by Albanians. Being near Prizren, with only the Drini i Bardhë river in between its inhabitants have always been linked with the Catholics of the town... As there were no prelates or priests, plus the tyranny of the Turks and other miseries, the Albanians began to be converted, to the extent that from fifty or more parishes with about 4000 people only five have remained. I have helped them because I am nearly always amongst them. There are two priests. Ndre Bogdan is from this place.»²⁶ The same author points out: «After passing over these mountains (those of Dukagjin) and crossing this river, one enters the region of... *Shullâ* or *Hass*. This place (*Hass* or *Shullâ*) has a great number of Albanians who are Turkish subjects...»²⁷

As is known the name *Shullâ-n* is a word of the Albanian language which derived from the Latin *solan /um* and is frequently used as a toponym and oronym. It is mainly used to denote the sunny side of a mountain or hill slope. For example: *Shullani i Kodrës t'Naltë* is a place in *Shala of Bajgora* (near the Kutllov village) etc. The toponym *Shullâ-ni* corresponds with the geographical characteristics of that region, the major part of which is dry and sunny. For this reason the people, for a long time, have called part of it *Hassi i Thatë* (dry Hass).

Without doubt the toponym *Hass* is of Turkish origin and means «property, place or wealth belonging to the king, property of the Sultan or a top-ranking official of the Turkish state».²⁸ According to historical data the

26-27 «Reports on the Situation of Northern Albania in the 17th Century, Tirana 1963, p. 433.

28 A. Skaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku*, Sarajevo 1973.

territories of former Shullan were property of the Sultan and his functionaries. For this reason the name Hass was used at first by the Turkish administration, and later, with the passage of time, by the local population, thus replacing the Albanian toponym Shullâ and the Slavonic one Patkovo, Rudina, Domestič.

During the 17th century, that region appears only under the oriental name *Hass*, except for P. Mazreku who used both *Shullâ* and *Hass*.

Hence this region appears with the toponym *Hass* in the report of Gjergj Bardhi in 1641 and in that of M. Bolica²⁹ in 1650.

Also in the well known work of P. Bogdani (*Cuneus Prophëtarum*) in 1695, that region, which was his birth-place, is written as *Hass*, *Hassi i Thatë*.

In the Albanian, Turkish, Italian and Slavonic documents of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, for example in the Devič's register, in Vuku's dictionary, in Turkish registers, in the writings of Sh. Gjeçov in the work of Jastrebov, etc., that territory is called *Hass*.

From this we conclude that in the Middle Ages present-day Hass was named with the Slavonic toponyms: *Patkovo*, later one part of it *Rudina*, the other *Domestič*, whereas in Albanian: *Shullâ-n*. During the Turkish invasion these old Slavonic and Albanian toponyms were replaced by the Turkish name *Hass*. During a certain period two or three toponyms have been used at the same time in different languages referring to the same region, later only one of them remained, mainly for administrative reasons. In our case the toponym *Hass* prevailed and replaced the others.

²⁹ *Reports on the Situation of Northern Albania in the 17th Century*, Tirana 1963, p. 433.

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SOME PROBLEMS OF THE MEDIAEVAL ONOMASTICS

When Mediaeval onomastics are studied it is important that the existing material should be regarded as the only point of reference. It is an advantage when the material is ample and representative. However, whatever the form of the material, it must be analysed thoroughly. The evidence thus obtained is not always, and by all means, the only possible truth. As a rule this is valid for any specific linguistic material, and especially for the religious documents of this period on Kosova — in our case the *chrysobull* of *Dečan* of the 15th century, as well as for the other contemporary documents like the *Land Chronicle* of the 15th century, etc. The materials found there should be analysed in detail and in a critical manner and conclusions drawn accordingly.

There are various reasons for saying so. First, because these documents were compiled by one administration only, which means that the names have to be unified both in the North and in the South. Second, it represented

the interests of the church, the state or the institution it served, which pursued an expansionist policy.

The Central and Southwest Balkans constituted a definite onomastic zone, at least from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages. The general opinion is that this zone was characterized by toponomastic and onomastic elements of Illyrian, Roman and Greek origin in the South, with some Thracian and other interferences which, however, all are in forms that can be interpreted by means of the Albanian language. Indeed this is such a complicated problem that it is difficult to venture anything accurate. Nevertheless, the supposition can be made that this mixture of Illyrian tribes with other peoples produced the Albanian ethnos, at least in some zones and, it is quite natural to suppose that there was some unification, or at least a tendency towards the unification, of names. If we look at the toponymy of the Balkans of the Late Middle Ages or of the present time, it becomes clear that such elements have been reduced to a minimum. Today we have quite another situation: Slav toponyms prevail in the central region, while the Greek ones in the South. However, some ancient toponyms and historical names such as Naissus: Nish, Scupi: Shkup, Astibos: Shtip, Ulpiana: Lipjan, Ulcinum: Ulqin, Durrachion: Durrës,¹ etc., which have reached us, can be explained only by means of Albanian. Their meaning is difficult to make out in any language. It is evident that after the Slav invasions in the Balkans, the toponomastic map of the latter was radically changed: many old names were replaced with new ones, thus obliterating a valuable page from historiography.

The fact that the ancient toponyms that remained

¹ See the article by Eqrem Çabej: *The Problem of the Autochthonous Character of the Albanians in the Light of Toponyms*, in «Bulletin of the State University of Tirana», series of social sciences, no. 2/1958, pp. 54-62; and *Introduction to the History of the Albanian Language*, Tirana 1960, or Prishtina 1970.

refuse any semantic analysis is of primary importance. This importance becomes even clearer when we see that other ancient names with a detractable meaning have been translated and adapted in the language of the ruling ethnos. Such are the evident cases of names like *Mali i Zi* (Black Mountain) which later became *Montana Nera*, *Crna Gora*, *Karadag*. In all these names those that prevailed were the Albanian and Slav names, although they do not appear in the respective foreign administration. In those zones where the situation was somewhat more complicated, the duplicity *Mal i Zi* — *Crna Gora*, which came to be used after the coming of the Slavs, was solved by using the Turkish name *Karadag* (Karadak),² in order to overcome the social-cultural complications and to avoid a triple name. Thus in the conditions of Turkish administration, when Turkish had become the language of culture in the Shkup region, the name *Karadak* was used instead of *Mal i Zi* and *Crna Gora*. There are many such translations.

At this stage we may conclude that in the zones of Central Balkans there are still names of mountains and places which, because of their development and various alterations, are difficult to analyse, although from their form it is an undisputable fact they belong to the Albanian element. This happened because in this zone, during the period of Slavization, 5th-11th centuries, a situation was created in which two popular languages were spoken. This was the only road which would lead to the present result: the assimilation of an autochthonous population, and the disappearance of this popular bilingualism in favour of the new form of popular Slav, which created the conditions that, at the time of consolidation of the religious and state organization of the latter, that is, when the need arose for the ethnic unification as

2 See R. Ismajli: *On Some Toponyms in Southern Serbia and Northern Macedonia*, in «Albanological Studies», Prishtina 1970, nos. 1-2, pp. 161-167, and bibliography attached.

a result of state unification, which was also the aim of the Church, it became necessary to understand and to translate all the names of the other language, or names which allowed for any interpretation according to the popular etymology. This is one of the fundamental reasons why we have so few analysable Albanian names of this time in this part of the Balkans. For the time being such a thing can only be supposed and can be supported by some forms and permissible interpretations of some of the important documents of the time.

One such document the *Chrysobulls of Decan* has multiple importance. It has a linguistic-historical importance, because it is the most extensive document of the popular Serbo-Croatian up to that time, and especially because of its wealth of personal names of this time in all the Slavonic languages. As the authors of the foreword to the last edition of the *Chrysobull*, Ivič and Greković stress, these names have special importance for their word-formation, which reflects both the old Slav way of word-formation, and the rules of the popular Serbian³ of that time. However, the fact that calendar names are not found in great number strengthens our opinion about a tendency of the Slav Orthodox Church towards the Slav ethnos at this time. This tendency must have been so powerful that even today it is often said that many of these names seem strange to the present reader⁴, because of an excess of its zeal.

This problem cannot but make an attentive reader ask: Wherefrom came all these popular and old Slav names? What caused such a big difference between the Slav spoken in this zone and the other Slav languages, at least if we judge on the basis of documents? As will

3 See the rich foreword by these authors to the latest and complete edition of *Chrysobulls*, published in Novi Sad in 1976, especially, p. 17 and ff.

4 *Današnjem čitaocu mnoga od tih imena zvuče neobično*, ibidem, p. 17.

be seen later, the names used by the Slav population are completely different from the other local populations; and if the others have mainly calendar names or borrowed proper names or use old and inscrutable names for toponyms, the Slav population used mainly popular names in the spirit of the old Slav tradition and the new popular vernacular. On the other hand, historiography up to now shows that it is very improbable that such big differences in the behaviour of the populations living in these territories, could have existed. These problems require a broader and more authoritative explanation. However we believe that the number of such names increased greatly especially after a long and spontaneous process of the translation of names. The church administrators must have given much help in hastening this process.

On the basis of the third version of the *Chrysobull of Stefan Dečan*, according to S. Novaković, the property of the monastery of Dečan comprised 40 villages and hamlets, 9 villages of Wallachians and one village of Albanians.⁵ Other authors, like Stefanović⁶, have also dealt with the problem of the Vallachians and their

5 Stojan Novaković, *Selo, iz dela Narod i zemlja u staroj srpskoj državi*, GLAS SKA XXV, Beograd 1891, p. 261, republished in Belgrade by «Srpska književna zadruga» in 1965.

For his interesting observations about this work see: Muhamet Tërnav, *Albanians in the Feud of Dečan in the 30' of the XV Century, According to the Chrysobull of Dečan* in «Bulletin of Faculty of Philosophy of Prishtina», 11/1974, pp. 255-271.

6 See Stanoje Stanojević: *Lična imen ai narodnosti u Srbiji srednjega veka*, in «Južnoslovenski filolog», VIII, Beograd 1928-1929; The author observes that often the Wallachians with Slav names were cousins with those who did not have Slav names. See Ivić and Grković, op. cit., p. 16.

See Milenko Filipović: *Struktura i organizacija srednjevekovnog katuna*, in Simpozijum o srednjekovnom katunu, Sarajevo 1963, particularly p. 55. These data are commented by the authors of the foreword to the latest edition of *Chrysobulls*.

assimilation. It is interesting to note that most of the names of Wallachians are Slav with the definite article *-ul* in the end, or with some Rumanian names in the old generations. Serbian students explain this in two manners: «as evidence of the beginning of the process of assimilation of the Wallachians or as an expression of the policy pursued by the Serb Church changing their names (in a manner also among the population)»⁷. The situation appears very complicated, however, the fact that the chrysobull mentions that Serbs are not allowed to marry Wallachian women or that they are isolated just because they were Wallachians, shows that the policy pursued by the Orthodox Church about the personal names was very powerful. However, neither *Novaković*, nor the others, with some allowance for *Filipović*, do not speak of a similar consideration for the Albanian speaking population. The fact that the chrysobull mentions only one *Arbanski katun* is insignificant, because, judging from the personal names we see two Albanian speaking villages — *Kusheva* and *Greva* were part of the property of the monastery of Dečan. It is a fact that personal names are a sure key to solving this problem, although they appear with important changes. Thus, as long as the problem is finally solved by means of the personal names, and the administration gives them as such in spite of a tendency to change them, it is unnecessary to seek other evidence, unless supplementary evidence is indispensable.

It is clear that the Albanian speaking element had been Christianized some centuries before the advent of the Slavs to the Balkans — they had often used calendar names, Hebrew, Latin Greek and other names, although in many cases they retained completely popular names. Such a thing can be seen very clearly from documents regarding the Albanians of Montenegro, among whom besides calendar names we come across popular names like *Burrë-*

7 Ivić and Grković, *ibidem*, p. 16, note 15.

madh, *Buzujuk*, *Kryezi*,⁸ etc. It is certain that this Albanian speaking population lived in circumstances somewhat different from those of the Kosova zone where for the sake of prestige people might speak Slav for a time (before the consolidation of the Turks and after the creation of the Serbian state), whereas those of Montenegro had contact also with Italian which stood higher in the social ladder. Such a thing might quite well be reflected in the style of names, although we have not many means to study this phenomenon thoroughly.

8 See Idriz Ajeti: *Contribution à l'étude de l'onomastique médiévale du Monténégro, de la Bosnie-Herzégovine et de la Kosove*, in «*Studia Albanica*», no. 1/1975, pp. 93-107. Apart from other things in this article Ajeti discusses also the formation of those important names about which we have expressed our doubts: Pantaleš, Barzan (Bardhanj), Bankeč, Bytidosi (Bythëdosa), Lopari, Vjedušti, Barolići, Koči, Leskovići, K'demade (Golëmadlu), Rogam, Bukmir (Bukëmirë), Burmaza, Burmazović (Burrëmadh), Ligatë, Fundëna, etc. The necessary explanations for the structure of these names and other notes for the sources have been given there. On this occasion, other problems, like the mixture of different types of nouns in the same family, like the above-mentioned, have been discussed, a critical stand has been adopted towards some of the statements of Stefanović, especially, on the basis of the materials published by Pulaha and of other names. The author of the article accepts the affirmation of Stanojević: «It can certainly be admitted that the proper names found in our Mediaeval documents should in no way be considered as reliable information on which to form a criterion of defining the national identity of a certain individual.» However, as Ajeti puts it, Stanojević does not go beyond that, whereas today we are able to prove that regardless of this, since the process of the development of personal names went from a Slav type to the others, and not vice-versa, whenever we come across an Albanian name we have to do with an Albanian speaking family. irrespective of the fact that the other names are not Albanian.

However, social division which was based on the language and which was encouraged by Venice, was not inconsequential.

What do the chrysobull of Dečan say about this problem? In *Arbanski Katun* the register of the monastery's property has these names: Llesh, Tuz, Branislav, Qorko Svinogllav, Gjon Bushat, Gjon Petër, Gjìn, Gratai Georgic, Budan, Petër Suma, Mataguz Llazor i Prijeza Kreç, Gjonoma, Dminko, Llesh, Dmitër, Andriçko, Petër Dminko, Reç, Llesh, Llazar, Progon, Mira, Petër Kuçi, Pavël Dmniko, Nikolla, Pavël, Mihal, Dmitër, Gollub, Gjorgj, Teshemir, Marko, Suma, Micko, Pelegrin.⁹ From

9 See Ivić and Grković: *Dečanske hrisovulje*, p. 247. For technical reasons we cannot reproduce here the original graphic text of the chrysobulls, but we will try to give it in Latin letters, as close to the original as possible. In the above-mentioned text it was necessary to make some obvious interpretations like *Bardh* for *Bard*, *Bythëdosa* for *Busadosa*, etc. The palatals of the Albanian at that time were given with a velar sound or other combinations like *Gin* for *Gjin*, *Gurg* for *Gjurg*, *Gon* for *Gjon* etc. Here is the full text for the village of the Albanians.

ikatonb arbanasb lesb tuzb isbeditju branislavb kjurko s
bratijomb isbdetiju svinoglavb gonb bušadb ipetrb iginb gratai-
georgicb i búdanb petr b suma isbratijom matagužb sbratijom
lazorb i prijeza krešb sbdetiju gonoma dminko ilešb dmitrib
sbratijomb anričko sbratijomb petr b sbratijomb dminko sbde-
tiju rečb isbdetiju lesb iprogonbmira petr b kusb sêbratijomb
pavb sbdetiju dminko sbdetiju nikola pavlb sbratijomb mihalb
dmitrb golub i gonb zbratijomb gjurgb isokb itešemirb marko-
suma imizko pelegrinb (...) sb goncb laro...

Further on the text says: «I prilozii krawmi vlahe ratiše-
vce a unjihb...»; among those Wallachians there are those like:
radoslavb obratmu radomirb ihrane a otac b imb lesb, or like
Vlasi Šusični: brz b irade milesikb smilb iginb asnb mu mojanb,
etc.

Apart from this it must be pointed out that in this document we find a great number of names which are very common

the calendar register it is not difficult to notice that with the exception of the name *Svinogllav*, we have to do with Albanian names. I have not come across such a case again, so it may well be a translation of an Albanian name like Kryethi, Kryederr, Kokëderr etc. It seems the other names do not present many problems (Gratai Georgie — Arumanian).

Meanwhile, in the Kushevo village, which is not mentioned as an Albanian village, but is located in Zeta, we find such names: *Bushat, Gjorgj, Dajç, Gjin Qerasoviq, Gjon Mihill, Dminko and Andreja, Bardha, Petër Grubsha, Pavle, Gjon, Jegërsh, Golem, Tanush, Nikolla, Pavle Mitra, Marko, Marko Burmadh, Dminko Bardha, Nikolla Kalltaniko, Pavle Bythëdosa, Llazar, Dminko Dajç, Nikolla Derr, Llazar Llet, Grikinja, Nikolla Let, Pavle Neraç, Dminko Progon*¹⁰. This means that in the Albanian village

with the Albanians and Rumanians, etc., hence, it is sometimes very difficult to classify them. Such are names like Progon, Dmitër, Dmink, etc. Not less common are such expressions: Vonko a sinbmu dragosb imilosb adedb imb 'dmitrb; preljub asinb mu bogoje ibrajko imilosavb aedb imb bukurb rajko ginovik abratmu priboje i bogoslavb; smilb abratmu božikb octacmu; bogosllavb obratmb rasui inikolla iradije aotacimb košepalb, etc.

10 «Selo u Zeke Kusero isb zaselbki aunjemb pavlb busatb isbdetiju gjurg daisb ginb kjasasovikb gonb mihilb dminko iandreja jegrbsb barda sbdetiju golem sbdetiju ibratmu tanusb i nikolla pavlb mbtrasa esbratoisbdetiju marko!... marko sb /.../ burnadb sbratomb... suromb dminko barda isinovi nikolla kaltanik sbbratijomb pavlb busadosa lazorb 'dminko daisb isbdetiju nikoladerb letb igrbkinja sbdetijunikola letb pavlb neracb andreja neracb dminko progonb...

And about the Greva village:

bogisa abratum magoje asnb muandreja, martimb, asinb anureja isusk, pavlb gjurasb, asinb mu zaharia, boga ivanb asing mu nikolla abratmu gjurgh, tanub, gjurgb asinb mu mihalb, dminko asinb mu andreja, koprbcb asinmu grbdanb idolinb igjurasb dmitrb, gonb ivanb gjurgb adeddbimb marko vonko igonb ido-

of Zeta, apart from the calendar names, we find simple popular names which have remained such even in the books of this monastery. This phenomenon is not met either in the Albanian village or in the other villages of the Dečan monastery, where Albanian names such as Gjin, Gjon, etc. appear. Some Slav names which are found there, as Ivić¹¹ says, look somewhat strange; Svinoglav, Golub, etc. The family ties between persons with Albanian names and those with Slav names in the same village are very close; it is said for example Gjon i bratnu Dabizhiv¹². In view of all these things as well as of the fact that this process was still more intensive

bravcb asinmu nikola, gjurb inikola ignb adedimb zaharia.

Next is *Selo Bunjano* and here are some examples of the mixture of names:

Pavlb asinbm brbzota gonb, igjurgh ibraimilb; dobrovoi asinbm braimilb igonb; dragosb ilesb imilša idrazoje iradinb a debbimb sestronja; dmirb asinbm dolko igjurb igonb, etc.

11 See preface to the *Chrysobulls*, p. 17.

12 It is clear that such processes are significant. This has been stressed earlier by other authors like Stanojević (see note 7), Ivić (above) and others. See, especially: Adem Handžić: *Nekoliko vijesti o Arbanasima na Kosovu i Metohiji sredinom XV vijeka*, in «Symposium of Skanderbeg», Prishtina 1969 (for various zones).

Selami Pulaha, *Altun-Ilia Region and Its Population in the End of the 15th Century*, in «Albanological Studies», series of historical sciences 1/1971, Prishtina 1972, pp. 193-272. As we can see from the *Chrysobulls* according to which Altin is property of the monastery, almost two centuries later the situation in these villages appears similar: The overwhelming majority of the population of the villages included in the ziamet of Altun-Ilia is Albanian. In the greatest number of the villages 9/10— (...) the inhabitants are mainly Albanian, a thing which is understood by the fact that they have typical Albanian names, like Gjin, Gjon, Leka, Kola, Gega, Progon, Tole, Llesh, Pepa,

among the Wallachians, we may say that in the zones under the Slav Orthodox Church we have to do with a process of the renaming of other populations. Just as with the place-names one thing is clear: only those the meaning of which could be understood, were translated, whereas neither the calendar names nor the toponyms, which could not be semantically analysed, were substituted. They were adapted only formally. In the northwestern zones in general, and in Montenegro especially, this process was much more slow, a thing which is seen very clearly in the two above-mentioned examples. This was because the influence of an organized institution like the Slav Orthodox Church was not felt there, and the Italian language and the Catholic Church were strongly opposed to it. Names like Bythëdosë, Derr, Bardh, Burrëmadh, etc., are found only in the books of the monastery in Zeta. This problem could have been solved once and for all if we had a register richer in Albanian names, however, even as it is, it speaks volumes. The register of names of Montenegro is also not very big, but abounds in such names. A similar thing exists for the zone of Altin Ilia in the 14th-15th century and in other zones.¹³

It seems reasonable that apart from what we said above we must also mention another problem: Dhimitër Shuteriqi puts forth a very interesting, though not quite

Kolsh, Gjec, Tanush, Bushat, Lulo, Mazarek, Pal, Duka, etc., p. 195. Further on Pulaha comments: «... In numerous cases, which are not isolated, we see that members of the same family, which by other names is identified as Albanian, bear also Slav names», p. 196. Here are some examples of borrowings very much like those mentioned in the *Chrysobulls*: Radosav son of Gjon, Vladi son of Gjon, Leka son of Mirosav, Novaku son of Gjon, Llesh son of Milen, etc.

See M. Tërnavë, op. cit., especially p. 259 and ff. A number of problems related to personal names in this zone are clarified here.

¹³ See note above.

reliable hypothesis, according to which, on the basis of the documents by Marafioti and some other Mediaeval historians, there was religious movement in the central and eastern Albanian regions in the Middle Ages, similar to the bogumils' (cathar) movement in Bosnia and Bulgaria¹⁴. If this is true, then we face another problem; what was the zone of the Orthodox Albanians? Where did the borderline, even an approximate one, between the two churches — Orthodox and the Catholic, lie? *Via Egnatia* has been often regarded as such, but judging from the chronological aspect, *Via Egnatia* does not appear accurate. Where were these «bogumils'» migrations directed? The solution of this problem would explain many other problems. This is of particular importance for the history of the population of Kosova, and would throw light also on the onomastic material. It must be seen whether the earlier schism of the Church resulted in some division, or some characteristic unity in the Albanian-speaking population of various regions. However, if we prove that part of the inhabitants were Orthodox, or at least were dedicated to the *bogumil* movement, that is, were neither Catholic nor Orthodox, it is easy to explain the possibility of this rapid onomastic change, as well as the later conversion.

Similar hypotheses can be found also in the material connected with the extreme South. In the *Land Chronicles* of Cephalon compiled by an anonymous writer, certainly of Greek origin, in which the Albanian-Greek war in Janina and in its neighbourhood is described (about 1375-1422), the number of Albanian popular names is still smaller. Besides such names like Gjin, Shpata, etc., the overwhelming are Greek or calendar names, although from their form they look like Albanian names. This

14 See Dhimitër Shuteriqi, *In the Ancient Traditions of Written Albanian: a New Brockard* — Marafioti, «Teacher» 1974, republished in *Literary Studies* by the same author, Tirana 1974, pp. 14-26.

is the case also with the name of *Janina* itself, which is written sometimes *Janina* and sometimes *Joanina*.¹⁵ Just like the other written documents of this time, these testimonies prove one thing: the social-linguistic and administrative-political status of the Albanian language, as well as of Arumanian, was such that it did not help its use in public service at such an early stage, or at least not in those zones. If we accept that these entities did not have an ethnic character, but only the character of a definite social-ownership system, although the *Chrysobulls* do not say so, then this socio-public use of those languages remains to be historically explained. From the *chrysobulls* it appears that the relations with the Wallachians were somewhat prohibitional; the Serb (although the term implies only a social value) was not allowed to marry a Wallachian girl, and if it happened, his wife had to become Serb. This accounts for the mass Slavization of Rumanian names. *Ivić* explains this with a fashion of the time, however, it must be pointed out that such a thing was somewhat conditioned. The Greek and Serbian in the Orthodox zones had a privileged status because of the authority of the Church, where the services were conducted in those languages. However, the problem of the ethnic character of the contemporary society is open to discussion, because it has to be explained why Greek did not remain the only language used in the Church, and why the Slav language was introduced at a very early stage. Thus, we have more or less this picture; in the south, a zone close to Greece, the original language of the Orthodox Church is Greek, there is no reason why it should not enjoy this status in the Mediaeval social relations, hence several Greek names. In the North, in the Eastern part, that is, in the Orthodox

15 See *Cronaca del Tocco di Cefalonia*, di Antonimo, Prolegomeni, testo critico, traduzione di Giuseppe Schiro, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma 1975, f. 610.

zones, contact with the Greek was distant, therefore, it was not difficult to have contact with its substitute, the Slavian language, which was ever more becoming a means of great authority in this part of the Balkans. In the West, in the Catholic zones, the Italian was the authoritative language, and this accounts for the fact why the close contact with the Slavian was not equally reflected. These are the reasons, I believe, why we have so many Slav names at this time, both, proper names and various common names, why the onomastics of this zone changed so much.

Indeed, we may go even further supposing that the name Arbanaski in the *chrysobulls* of *Dečan* was used to designate only the Catholic Albanians, at least if we go by their names and the tendency of the registrar to isolate them.¹⁶ Otherwise, it is difficult to understand why in the other villages, which are not identified as Catholic, we find many Albanian proper names like Gjin, Gjon, etc. Thus, the Church introduced a tendency of linguistic and ethnic unification. The situation was somewhat different in the Catholic part of the population, which opposed this tendency for religious motifs, although it was far from Italy.

As a conclusion we say: the names that figure in mediaeval religious documents are very important for historical onomastics, because they provide linguistic forms and materials which are very valuable for a time which is poor in such documents. However, before interpreting them and drawing historical conclusions, we must put them in their true light, otherwise they might lead us to grave historical errors. We cannot rely on them to draw direct conclusions about the ethnic composition of the population, since definite usages are conditioned

16 This might be supposed of by the names like Suma, Bushati, Noraç, etc., which later appear to be Calothic. Of course, this question calls for further research, because the data currently available are scarce.

by the form of social organization. These may be considered only as an indication of the presence of an ethnic group in a certain zone, while the intensity of its presence must be studied through socio-historical analyses.

THE ALTUN-ILIA PROVINCE AND ITS POPULATION AT THE END OF THE 15TH CENTURY*

The Shkodra Sandjak, created immediately after the fall of the Rozafat Fortress in 1479, had a broad extension, including not only areas inhabited by Albanians, but also a small territory inhabited by Slavs. The provinces included in this sandjak were those of *Shkodra* (Iskenderiys), *Dushman-Ilia* (the territory which had formerly been under the rule of the Dushmans), Tejbuna (Zabojan) Merkodi, Krajna, the Mountains of Shestan, Podgorica, Zhabjak, Hoti, Byelopavliq (Palabardh), Ivrazha Griq, Piper, Peja, Altun-Ilia Petrishpani (the territory which had formerly been under the rule of Pjetër Spani), Budimile, Komaranis, Plava, Izla Rjeka. With few modifications this was the extension of that sandjak in the 16th century, too, when the Tivar (Bar)¹ province was added to it.

* Taken from «Albanological Investigations», series of historical sciences, I, 1971, Prishtina 1972, pp. 193-200.

1 *Başbakanlık arşivi, Tapu defterleri*, Register of the Shkodra Sandjak of 1485, no. 17. See also *Tapu ve Kadastro umum müdürlüğünün arşivi*, Register of the Shkodra Sandjak of the year 1582, no. 59.

The registers of the census of the land and population of that Sandjak in the 15th-16th centuries are important sources, because they provide a rich documentary material for the studying of the crucial problems of the history of the region they belong to. They are many-sided and throw light on the concrete situation in the country, allowing us to judge on the extent the Ottoman rule was accepted and on the degree of the implementation of the timar system in all the regions of the Sandjak, as well as a number of other regions in the interior of the country, about which other sources give no information.

Apart from this, these materials are of interest also to judge the extension of the Albanian population in the regions bordering the Shkodra Sandjak and to know the Albanian-Slav coexistence in those regions at the end of the 15th century.

Proceeding from these questions, about which the Ottoman registers give information of first-rate importance, we are of the opinion that it is of great interest to publish the information found in the detailed register (mufassal) of the census of lands and population of the Shkodra Sandjak carried out during the year 1485² over such an internal region as that included in the Altun-Ilia district³ (mainly the regions included in the triangle between Tropoja-Junik and Gjakova) about which other sources either say nothing or give scanty information.

The Altun-Ilia district, according to data from the registration, of 1485, included the following villages: *Lunik (Junik)*, *Sqavica (Siqeq)*, *Rjenica*, *Butosha (Batosha)*, *Plaqa (Plakan)*, *Mel (Meja)*, *Morina Dujk (Dujak)*,

2 Başbakanlık arşivi. Tapu defterleri, no: 17.

3 Nearly all the villages which in 1485 were part of the Altun-Ilia district were included in the 16th century in one province which preserved the former name (the Altun-Ilia province). See Tapu ve kadaastro umum müdürlüğünün, arşivi, no. 59, p. 242.

Gorna Çrna Gonja, Jasi, Dolina, Çirna Gonja, Nivokas, Peronja (Beronja), Smolica, Shpiçan, Kovaç, Miholan, (Myhejan), Gosturan, Çernomile, Stepaneselo, Goran, Shoshan, Babnoc (Babojt), Polja, Rodosh, Shuma, Dolina Bugjan (Buqan), Nebonan, Bozhan, Trebnosh, Poçesta, Trejopolje (Tropoja), Vuçidol, Berbat, Kamenica, Big Dobrosh, Small Dobrosh, Sredna Çirna, Gonja, Brankofic (Brekoc), Trepoc, Bonoshuc (Ponoshec), Stublla, Rogam, Dragobil (Dragobija).

As can be seen, in the district, or as this area is later called, the province of Altun-Ilia Gjakova, which in the document is called a village, is not included. The village of Djakovica (Gjakova) was included in 1485 in the Deçan district together with Rugova (Rogova), Korsuriq (Kosuriq), Gorazhdava (Gorazhdec) and Çernish. Nearly one century later in 1570 we see it administratively separated from the Shkodra Sandjak and included in the Rudna (Rudina) District of the Dukagjin Sandjak.⁴ The territories south of Gjakova to the vicinity of the Prizren District were not included in 1485 in the Shkodra Sandjak. They must have been included in the Dukagjin Sandjak, because in 1570 they are found included in the three of its districts such as the Rudna (Rudina) District, the Domeshtiq and Beshtriq (Peshtriq) Districts.⁵

The villages of the later Altun-Ilia Province formed only a district in 1485, known under the name of the Altun-Ilia District and divided into two parts. One part which was given in ownership to Suxhaudin Bey included 25 villages with 606 households, 217 able-bodied men and 56 widow households; they all paid a tax of 19.142 akçe. The other part of the Altun-Ilia District was given to Mirza Bey, the son of Jurma. It included 28 villages which had 320 households, 139 able-bodied men and 43 widow households. They paid a tax of 39.617 akçe to the spahi.

4 Başbakanlık arşivi, Tapu defterleri, no. 499, pp. 98-99.

5 Ibidem, pp. 96-172.

Information from the census of 1485 shows that the inhabitants of the villages included in the Altun-Ilia District were subject to the customary norms of the timar system. The peasants paid the tax as usual: the head of the household and all the able-bodied men 25 akçe each, whereas the widows 6 akçe each. They paid the rent in the form of tithes of agricultural products: wheat, barley, rye, millet, oats, flax, lentils, plums, walnuts, cherries, vegetables, must, bees, wood etc. The lords of the district also collected on weddings, first nights, etc.

Apart from data which reveal the concrete situation of this region at the end of the 15th century, this material is of special importance also for its population census. The register records the names of the heads of families, the able-bodied males and the widows of each village who had dues. Usually the name of the father, the brother, the cousin or father-in-law is written together with the name of the head of the family or the bachelor. On rare occasions other characteristics are given such as: poor, cowherd, master, etc.

The majority of the population of the villages included in the Altun-Ilia District province is Albanian. In most villages, for example, *Plakan, Mel, Morina, Dujak, Gorna, Çirna Gonja, Dolina Çirna Gonja, Peronja, Dodesh, Dolina, Bugjan (Buqan), Bozhan, Vuçidol, Berbat, Dobrosh i Madh, Dobrosh i Vogël, Sredna Çirna Gonja, Brankofic (Brekoc), Trenova, Vogova, Kaliq, Goranica, Gijaçaça, Kolshiq, Shishmanç, Popoc, Bonoshuc, Stubla Rogam* nearly all the inhabitants are Albanians, which can be understood from their typically Albanian names such as *Gjin, Gjon, Leka, Kola, Gega, Progon, Tole, Llesh Pepa, Bardo, Kolsh, Gjeç, Tanush, Bushat, Lula, Bazarak, Pal, Duka*, etc. In some other villages such as *Lunik*, which must have been the centre and the market of this province, *Nivokas, Smolica, Dolina Bugjan (Buqan)* nearly half the names of the inhabitants are typically Albanian. Hence, based on these data, we may say that the plain between Gjakova and Juniku where the afore-

mentioned villages are situated, in the 15th century was without the slightest doubt a territory inhabited entirely by Albanians.

The existence of Albanians in the region at the end of the 15th century, immediately after the Ottoman occupation, when the new factors connected with that occupation had not begun to exert their influence, presupposes that they must have been there for a long time. This opinion is indirectly confirmed by the data found in tzar Stefan Dušan's chrysobull, given to the monasteries of Saint Michael and Gabriel (1348-1358) in Prizren, which prove the existence of Albanians in a region near Altun-Ilia.⁶

Apart from these villages with an entirely Albanian population, in the other villages included in the Altun-Ilia District there are also inhabitants with typically Albanian names, although in smaller number than the inhabitants with Slavonic names and with names used by both peoples. For example, in the village of *Rjenica* out of 74 heads of families and 14 able-bodied males, only 18 of them have characteristic Albanian names, in the village of *Butosha* out of 35 heads of families and 15 able-bodied males, only 6 of them have typically Albanian names, in the village of *Shoshan* out of 20 heads of families and 10 able-bodied males 6 have typically Albanian names. Likewise in the village of *Polja* out of 47 heads of families and 16 able-bodied men only 7 have typically Albanian names, in the village of *Dragobil* out of 6 heads of families only 2 have Albanian names. In the other villages such as *Siqvec* (*Siquç*), *Jasiç*, *Shipçan*, *Kovaç*, *Mihola*, *Myhejan*, *Gosturan*, *Çernomile*, *Stepaneselo*, *Goran*, *Babnoç*, *Shuma*, *Nebonan*, *Trebnosh*, *Poçesta*, *Trejopola* (*Tropoja*), *Kamenica* typically Albanian names are found in a smaller number. On the other hand

6 S. Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici*, Belgrade 1912, pp. 682-701; «Selected Sources on the History of Albania», v. II. Tirana 1962, pp. 143-155.

a considerable number of inhabitants of those villages have names which are used both among the Albanians and the Slavs, for example: *Nikolla, Andrea, Lazar, Gjorgj, Stepan, Dimiter, Petr, Mihail, Mihal*, etc. This of course, makes it more difficult to ascertain their nationality. Despite this, the fact remains that many inhabitants of those villages have typically Slavonic names. However, it must be borne in mind that not every inhabitant with a Slavonic name is a Slav. As is known, in the toponymastics of the Albanian territories there are many Slavonic names originating from the time of the influx of the Slavs in the early centuries of the Middle Ages. The Slavonic influence expresses itself even more strongly in the anthroponymy, that is, a field into which it could penetrate more easily, especially under the conditions of the Serbian occupation of the Albanian territories. This influence is more clearly seen in the border territories, in areas inhabited by both populations. The material connected with the Altun-Ilia district provides data in connection with this question. We see many cases of whole Albanian families appearing in Slavonic names. Here are some examples: *Radosavi, the son of Gjon, Vladi the son of Gjon, Bozhdari the son of Gjon, Gjorgj Mazaraku* (p.385) or *Vulkashin Zhevali and Gjon, his son*, (p. 360), *Leka the son of Mirosavi*, (360) *Dejan, the son of Gjon, Novak, the son of Gjon* (p. 366), *Ukça Stepiani and the son Leka Stepiani and the grandson of Stepan Leka* (p. 368), *Milen the son of Daba and his son, Lleshi the son of Milen* (p. 372), *Gjon Bogoi and Ivan, his son* (373), *Lleshi, the son of Gjorgji, Tanushi, the son of Radsave* (p.374); in another family there was *Bogdan, the son of Novak, Dimitri, his brother, and Duka, his brother* (p. 383), etc. There are tens of such cases.

We also find Albanian names with Slavonic adaptations such as *Lekaç* for *Leka*, *Nikaç* for *Nika*, *Dedaç* for *Deda*, etc.

To illustrate the fact that the Albanian element in those regions used Slavonic names, we shall give an

example taken from the registers of the Ottoman census of that period for the region of Kërçova (Kirçeva) to the south of Altun-Ilia.⁷ In a register of the Kërçova Vilayet which belongs to the period of the rule of Bayazid the Second, the population of Kërçova figures as follows: first, the muslim population of the quarter of the mosque and the steam bath of Siman Bey. Then comes the christian population divided into two quarters: the quarter of the Serbians (serf) and the quarter of the Albanians (*arnavud*). If we take the names of the inhabitants of the quarter which according to the document, is inhabited by Albanian christians we see that the majority of their names are not Albanian but Slavonic. Let us see their names one by one:

The christians of Kërçova... the Albanian quarter

Gjuro, the son of Vladko
Vlajko, the son of Gjon
Dimjo, the son of Gjergjo
Juvan (Jovan), the son of Pejo
Petko, the son of Nina
Nino, the son of Niqla
Todor, the son of Doda
Nikolla, the son of Sojmir
Bojko, the son of Nina
Stojan, the son of Stojço
Pejo, the son of Todor
Nina, the son of Bogdan
Gjuro, the son of Vulkashin
Juvon, the son of Pejo
Todor, the son of Gjuro
Nikolla, the son-in-law of Doma
Pejo, the son of...

7 Top-Kapi müzesinin arşivi, register no. 7933, pp. 5-6.

Petko, the son of Gjuro
 Shanko, the son of Mila
 Petri, the son of Shamen
 Mirça, the son of Nikola
 Todor Popi's garden bequeathed to him by Iskender
 Stojó, the son of Vlajko
 Stojan the son of Juvan
 Daba, the son of Bojko
 Vlada's garden
 Nikola, the son of Gjon
 Miço, the son of Gjergjo
 Kojço, the son of Gjon
 Kostandin, the son of Pejo
 Nina, the son of Vladko
 Lalko, the son of Niça
 Mara's garden
 Gjuro, the son of Pop
 Bogoslav, the son of Nikola
 Stojan, the son of Martin
 Todor, the son of Kojçin
 Lesko, the son of Vulkashin
 Dimjo, the son of Pejo
 Kesar, the son of Lasko
 Dimjo, the son of Krasimir
 Dimjan, the son of Pejo
 Milosh, the son of Egmen (Egumen)
 Todor, the son of Mile
 Nikola, the son of Mirko
 Stojan, the son of Nina
 Andrija, the son of Bojko
 Gjuro, the son of Pejo
 Brojko, the son of Mihal
 Bogdan, the son of Dimjo
 Nikola, the son of Dimjo
 Todor, the son of Nina
 (m=*mücerred* bachelor)
 Vulkashin, the son of Andrija (m)
 Jovan, the son of Petr (m)

Bojço, the son of Olivir (m)
Stojko, the son of Juvan (m)
Stojan, the son of Nina (m)
Todor, the son of Todor (m)
Nina, the son of Gjuro (m)
Juvan, the son of Dimjo (m)
Juvan, the son of Pejo (m)
Juvan, the son of Biço (m)
Nina, the son of Petr (m)

the widows: Mara, Jelka, Vlada of Pejo, Stana, Ivana, the other Jelka, Boga, Ermenika, Erina, Radoslava, the other Ermenika, the widow of Stojko, the widow of Bojko, Toda Jelina, Radoslava, Kalina, Goja.

Households 52, bachelors 12, widows 20.

So, as it emerges from these data in a quarter called the Albanian quarter, the names of the inhabitants are Slavonic and not Albanian.

Proceeding from some conditions, we are entitled to say that the Albanians must be looked for also among those inhabitants of the villages of Altun-Ilia who had mainly Slavonic names at the end of the 15th century. The example given above about the use of Slavonic names by Albanians shows, on the other hand, that in the historical conditions in which the Albanian population was forced to live, the sole fact that the names belong to the sphere of Slavonic onomastics cannot prove the Slav character of that population. Consequently the number of genuine Slavs must have been much smaller than the number of people with Slavonic names.

As these regions were dependent on the administration of the Christian Orthodox Church of Peja, Jireček's opinion that the Albanians should be looked for only there where there were Catholics and as a result only Catholicism could allegedly be considered the «religion of the Albanians», is not valid.

With the establishment and strengthening of the new state administration of the occupier, that is, with the complete destruction of the state apparatus of the Serbian

feudal class and the loss of the ruling position of the Serbian Church, Slavonic names among the Albanians tend to decrease. If we look at what the register of the Shkodra Sandjak of 1582⁸ says about the Altun-Ilia district we shall notice that, apart from a minority of islamized population, most inhabitants have typically Albanian names. The villages which had an entirely Albanian population at the end of the 15th century in their majority maintained this situation in the 16th century. On the other hand, in the villages *Shipçan*, *Gosturan*, *Çernomile*, *Stepaneselo*, *Trebnosh*,⁹ where at the end of the 15th century the majority of the population had Slavonic names, in 1582 Albanian names predominate. In other villages such as *Polja* (*Poliba*), *Shuma*, *Jasiq*, *Kovaç* (*Kovaçica*), *Goran*,¹⁰ in 1582 as against 1485 the number of inhabitants with Albanian names increased further. In many villages, such as *Kamenica* and *Poçesta*,¹¹ where Slavonic names were predominant at the end of the 15th century the Albanian names are in larger number in 1582. In the book of 1582 we see no mention of the village of *Trejopolje* (*Tropoja*) where in 1485 there was an equal ratio between both elements. Abandonment of Slavonic names by the Albanian population of those villages enables us now to have a clearer idea of the real ratio between the two elements in the 15th century. However, in this case we must not overlook the fact that in the 15th century the Albanian population in those villages underwent a natural growth, as seen in the recordings of the register of the Shkodra Sandjak for 1582.

However, in some villages, such as *Sqaviça*, *Rjenica*, *Miholan*, *Nebonani* (*Tebojan*), Slavonic names con-

8 Tapu ve Kadastro umum müdürlüğünün arşivi, register no. 59, pp. 242-256.

9 Ibidem, fl. 247, 248, 251, 252, 255.

10 Ibidem, fl. 243, 245, 249, 254, 253.

11 Ibidem, fl. 248, 253.

tinued to predominate in the 16th century as they did in 1485.¹²

A phenomenon similar to that noticed in the villages of the Altun-Ilia province with a population of mixed names was also observed in the village of Gjakova, which in the register of the Shkodra Sandjak of 1458 is mentioned as a market centre called Djakovica, like Junik. At the end of the 15th century Djakovica had a population of mixed Albanian-Slavonic names. The majority of the inhabitants had Slavonic names. However, a century later, in 1570, Albanian names in Djakovica predominated over Slavonic names.

The material we presented here enables us also to come to another conclusion. As we said above, in 1485 the major part of the villages of the Altun-Ilia province had an Albanian population, whereas the rest had, alongside a population with Albanian names, also a population with Slavonic names. The villages with entirely Albanian names were situated mainly in the low-land area to the north and north-west of Gjakova and extended as far as Junik, whereas the villages with a population of predominantly Slavonic names extended as far as to the mountainous region of Tropoja. This proves that in the Altun-Ilia territory there was a massive long established Albanian population which engaged both in livestock raising and in agriculture.

The above examples reject the view long established in Yugoslav historiography, which is also supported by modern authors such as A. Urošević,¹³ that the Albanians, being a population engaged in livestock raising have come to those zones from the internal mountainous regions only near the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, when a great part of the Christian Orthodox Slav population who supported Austria during the Austrian-Turkish war (1683-1690) apparently withdrew

¹² Ibidem, fl. 242-243, 254, 256.

¹³ A. Urošević, *Kosovo*, Belgrade 1965.

to the north, thereby leaving empty their former habitations.

Our data on the region of Altun-Ilia as well as the information of the scholar Adem Handžić from Sarajevo on the situation of the Albanian element in Kosova and Metohia during the 15th century¹⁴ indicate that the problem of the spreading of the Albanians in those zones and the Albanian-Slav coexistence calls for more profound work, based, in the first place, on the data of the census of the Vilak vilayet of 1455 and the census of the Shkodra Sandjak of 1485. Only in this manner would a more serious study of this problem be made, especially compared to the situation revealed by the census of the 16th century.

¹⁴ Adem Handžić, *Nekoliko vijesti o Arbanasima na Kosovu i Metohiji sredinom XV vijeka* «Symposium on Skanderbeg» (May 9-12, 1968), Prishtina, 1968.

**THE NORTH-EASTERN REGIONS OF THE SANDJAK
OF DUKAGJIN — HASS AND ITS POPULATION
DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE
16th CENTURY***

The Sandjak of Dukagjin and the Sandjak of Shkodra are the two big administrative units which the Ottoman occupiers formed immediately after their invasion. Whereas it is known for certain that the Sandjak of Shkodra was created immediately after the fall of the Rozafat Fortress in 1479, it is difficult to define the time of the creation of the Sandjak of Dukagjin because there are no documents about it. The first reports mention this sandjak as an independent administrative unit in a register of the year 986 h/1490-91¹. Despite the lack of earlier data it may be said that this administrative unit must have

* Taken from «Albanological Investigations», series of historical sciences, II-1972, Prishtina 1974, pp. 185-210.

1 N. Todorov, *Za demografskoto sostojanie na Balkanski puluostrov prez XV-XVI v.*, Sofija 1960, p. 210; quoted from S. RizaĴ, *Političkoupравни sistem na Kosova od XV od XVII veka*, in «Albanological Investigations», no. 2, 1965, p. 296, 304.

been created no later than the creation of the Sandjak of Shkodra, because it is impossible to think that the Ottomans left unoccupied the mountainous regions of Puka, Iballa, Spas, which were later included in the Sandjak of Dukagjin at a time when they had occupied the mountainous regions further to the north, such as Pulti, Shala, Shoshi, Altun-Ilia, which according to the reports of the census of 1485, had also included the Sandjak of Shkodra.² On the other hand, the western documents prove that the Dukagjini feudals such as Leka and Nikolla Dukagjini, who were the lords of the Dukagjini region, had defended their feuds and carried out an extensive activity in the struggle for freedom against the Turkish expeditions of the years 1474 and 1478. Only in 1481 are they mentioned as exiled from Albania³. These data convince us that the Sandjak of Dukagjin cannot have been created before the time of the formation of the Sandjak of Shkodra, i.e. before 1479, as some historians think⁴. The fact that Peja was occupied by the Turks in 1462 cannot be used as an argument to prove that the Sandjak of Dukagjini was created at the same time, because the province of Peja was not included within the boundaries of this sandjak during the 15th and 16th centuries. This can be proved by the data of the registers of the Sandjak of Shkodra, which prove that Peja was part of that administrative unit during the period 1485-1582, as well as by the materials of the registers of Dukagjin about which we shall speak further on.⁵

2 The register book of the Sandjak of Shkodra of 1485. Başvekalet arşivi (further on we quote BV A.) Tapu defterleri, no. 17.

3 Ivan Božnić, *The Dukagjinis* in «Përparimi», Prishtina 1968, nos. 8, 9, 10, pp. 910-911.

4 H. Sabanović, *Upravna podela jugoslovenskih zemalja pod turskom vladavinom*, p. 185; H. Kaleshi, *Kosova and Metohija in the chronicle of Evlija Çelebia*, in «Përparimi», Prishtina 1955, nos. 7-8, p. 433. On the same question see S. Riza, op. cit., pp. 304-306.

5 Ibidem.

The data of the registrations of the land and population give us a clearer view on the extension of the Sandjak of Dukagjin in the years 978 h/1571⁶ and 999 h/1591⁷. According to them the Sandjak of Dukagjin comprised the provinces of Zadrime, Rogam, Dibri (Lezha and its highlands), Spas, Puka, Iballa, Fand i Madh, Fand i Vogël, Mirdita, Rudina, Domeshtiç, Pashtrik, Luma, Gora, Opolje and Dibra (some villages of the northern part).

That sandjak cannot have had that extension during the end of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century. In the registration of 1485 Djakovica (Gjakova), as a bazaar centre, and the neighbouring village Vogova were included in the Sandjak of Shkodra, whereas in both the registrations of the Sandjak of Dukagjin during the second half of the 16th century, together with the villages of the region of Bytyçi, they were to form the province of Rudina. Likewise in a concise register (icmal) of the timars of Rumelia which belongs to the years 1529-36, the Vilayet of Dukagjin is mentioned to include the provinces of Fand i Vogël, Dibri, Fand i Madh, Pulti of Leka (Spas), Kladra,⁸ Malizi (Puka), Pult of Leka Zaharia (Iballe), Zadrime and Rogam.⁹ Proceeding from the fact that, during the early period of their invasions, the Ottomans named the invaded territories according to the names of their lords rather

6 The registration ended at the beginning of the month of Shaban of the year 978 hixhri, i.e. at the beginning of January 1571. *Defteri mufassal liva-i Dukagin*. BV.A., Tapu defterleri, no. 499, p. 12.

7 The registration ended at the beginning of the month of Kemazul evvel of the year 999 hixhri, i.e. at the end of February 1591: *Defteri mufassal liva-i Dukagin*. Tapu ve Kadastro umum müdürüğünün arşivi, (further quoted TK.A.) register no. 63, fl. 4.

8 In 1571 the villages of that province were included in the province of Dibri.

9 BV. A., register no. 367, pp. 358-363.

than their former names, we may say that during the 15th century those territories belonged to the Dukagjinis according to which the territory was later called. Only the region of Iballa is an exception, for in this register it is called a former property of Lekë Zaharia. These reports coincide with the information of Gjin of Muzaka and western documents according to which Zadrime, Fand, Malizi, Puka, Paliti (Pulti), Flazi(?) Dibri¹⁰ were considered property of the Dukagjinis. Later the territorial concept of Dukagjin was extended. During the second half of the 16th century apart from the Vilayet of Dukagjin the provinces of Rudina, Pashtrik, Gora, Opolje and Dibra were also included in the Sandjak of Dukagjin. Apparently that region must have been added to the Sandjak of Dukagjin in the period between the year 1529, when the Vilayet of Dukagjin is mentioned, and 1571, when we see the Sandjak of Dukagjin with a broader extension. It must not have been a component part of the region called Dukagjin during the 15th century.¹¹

Keeping in mind the scientific interest presented by the socio-economic and ethnic data of the registers of the land and the population held by the emins of the Ottoman cadastre, we think it is interesting to present here the data of the register book of the Sandjak of Dukagjin of 1571, which is about the northeastern regions, about which the 16th century documents are very fragmentary.

10 Charles Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes*. Berlin 1873, p. 271, I. Božić, *The Dukagjinis*, in «Përparimi», 1968, nos. 6-7, pp. 690-691, nos. 8-9-10, p. 901, 914 note 41. The villages owned by Nikolla Dukagjini and mentioned in documents (Senato Mar VI, 87, v^o) are not in Dibra, as I. Božić thinks, but in Dibri (Lezha and its highlands).

11 See also I. Božić. *The Dukagjinis*, in «Përparimi» 1968, nos. 6-7, p. 701 note 2. During the second half of the 16th century Montenegro, too, depended on the Sandjak of Dukagjin.

The north-eastern region of the Sandjak was comprised of three provinces: Rudina, Domeshtiç and Pashtrik. The province of Rudina included Djakovica (Gjakova) and the villages to the south, as well as all the villages of Bytyç, which are divided today between the districts of Tropoja and Kukës. The other part of the region of Gjakova was included in the province of Altun-Ilia (the Gjakove-Junik-Tropoja region) and was part of the Sandjak of Shkodra. The province of Domeshtiç comprised the villages between Gjakova and Prizren up to the Drini i Bardhë, whereas the province of Pashtrik included the villages to the east and the west of the Pashtrik mountain.

Rudina, Domeshtiç and Pashtrik were three small regions after which the nahiyes (provinces), the administrative divisions, were named. The new historical conditions of the 16th century brought about as a result the amalgamation of the three units into one single bigger unit called now the Nahiye of Hass. This new name existed alongside the three older names for some time until in the later centuries it completely eliminated them, in the more generalized form of Hassi. In both registration books of the Sandjak of Dukagjin in the years 1571 and 1591, alongside the old name «the Nahiye of Hass» is also mentioned, but its boundaries are not defined there. However, the other data enable us to define them indirectly, because it can be discovered which villages were called *hass* and which were called *ziamet* or *timar*. In the registration of 1571 the villages Djakovica, Gorna Raça, Dolina Raça, Bozhga, Duik, Brajkoviç of the province of Rudina were called along with those of Romanja, Dodbrush, Lubizhda, Pina, Izvonica, Smal, Golishovan, Bishazin of the province of Domeshtiç, the village Goden of the province of Pashtrik.¹² Apart from the villages designed *hass of the Empire*, there were

12 BV. A., *Tapu defterleri*, no. 499, pp. 98-102, 124-130, 150-153.

villages given as *hass* of the *Sandjakbey* of Dukagjin. These were the villages Davidofiça, Krajкова, Gjinar of the province of Domeshtiç and the villages Diragtan Gorozhub, Ivranishta, Pustoshar, Gizhub, Zym, and Buça of the province of Pashtrik.¹³

Not all the villages of the provinces of Rudina, Domeshtiç and Pashtrik were *hass* because there was a large number of other villages of these provinces which were given as *timar* and *ziamet*. As a result in 1571 15 *timars* were created in the province of Rudina, 12 *timars* and part of a *ziamet* in the province of Domeshtiç and 16 *timars* and part of a *ziamet* in the province of Pashtrik. After 1571 the Ottoman authorities had narrowed the territory of the *hass* villages giving part of them to the *timarlinjs* or *ziams*. Thus, for example, in the registration of 1591 the villages Dujk and Brajković of the province of Rudina were removed from the *hass* of the Empire and were included in the *ziamet* of Hasan.¹⁴ Likewise the villages of Davidofiça, Krajкова and Gjinar of the province of Domeshtiç which were *hass* of the *Sandjakbey* were now included in the *timar* of Hysen, the son of Hasan, and in the *ziamet* of Ahmed, the son of Mehmed; whereas the *hasses* of the *Sandjakbey* in the province of Pashtrik (7 villages) were all divided among the *timars* and *ziamets*.¹⁵

From the above data we may reach the conclusion that during the second half of the 16th century the area of the nahiye of the *hass* from which the new name *-hass* emerged, was narrower than the area later included in the region of Hass. Proceeding from this it may be thought that the name *hass* emerged since the first half of the 16th century, at a time when the number of *hass* villages must have been greater than what it was in the

13 Ibidem, pp. 130-131, 151-159.

14 TK.A, register no. 63, fl. 39-49.

15 Ibidem, fl. 51-52, 60-64.

second half of the 16th century. The tendency to break up the *hass* is noticed not only in this region, but also in the other part of the sandjak, in the Vilayet of Dukagjin the villages of which during the years 1529-36 were all defined as *hass* of the Empire with the exception of Zadrina and Rogam which Sultan Sulejman el-Kanun had given as *mylks* to Mustafa Pasha, one of the Islamized¹⁶ offsprings of the Dukagjinis.

The data of the registrations of the years 1571 and 1591 prove that the system of *timars* and the Ottoman legislation had been fully carried out in the regions of Rudina, Domeshtiç and Pashtriku. Both registrations reflect the implementation of the principle of the *mirie* property in this region, the division of the income from the feudal rent among the members of the Ottoman feudal class, and they represent in a detailed manner the elements which made up this rent. In those registers it is also shown that the Ottoman legislation exercised its power there, the *kadis* carried out their activity like in all the other countries placed under the *timar* system, leaving no doubt about the fact that the Albanian canon was not in power, the canon which was connected with the name of Lekë Dukagjini, especially on the question of the land.

The data of both registers also testify to the further strengthening of the Ottoman feudal class through the extension of the feuds or the transformation of the *timars* into *ziamets* by certain feudals during the period from the registration of 1571 to the registration of 1591. As a result, now the number of *timars* had diminished, for example, in the province of Rudina, from 15 to 7 *timars*, in the province of Domeshtiç, from 12 to 5, in

16 BV, A., *Tapu defterleri*, register book no. 367, pp. 358-363; register book no. 499, p. 477, I. Zamputi, *Reports on the Situation in Northern and Central Albania in the 17th Century*, vol. II, Tirana 1965, pp. 201, 205.

the province of Pashtrik from 16 to 13.¹⁷ On the other hand, the number of *ziamets* had increased, because from 2 parts of *ziamets* we now see 13 parts of *ziamets* in the three provinces. In the second registration one can see that the extension of the feuds has been achieved both through the decrease in number of the *timars* as well as because of the further partitioning of the bigger feuds — the *hasses*. Hence a number of villages from the *hass* of the empire and the *hass* of the sandjakbey were given in 1591 to the different *timar* or *ziam spahis*. This can be seen more clearly in the following data:

Provinces	Empire hass		Sandjakbey hass		Ziamets		Timars	
	1571	1591	1571	1591	1581	1591	1571	1591
Rudina	6	4	—	—	—	7	22	22
Domeshtic	7	7	3	—	3	7	19	19
Pashtrik	1	1	7	—	1	9	17	19
Total in three provinces	14	12	10	—	4	23	58	60

On the other hand it is observed that in 1591 the major part of the *timars* were no longer in the hands of the *spahis* who owned them in 1571. After a period of 20 years these feuds had passed under the ownership of their successors or the other *spahis*, which shows that there the *timar* system had functioned and the registration of 1571 had not been a nominal registration.

In both registers of the Sandjak of Dukagjin the feudal rent which went to the *spahis* is registered in

¹⁷ Three parts of *timars* such as those of Muzafer Korthydar (in Rudina and in Domeshtic), of Hasan, the son of Abdullah (in Rudina and Pashtrik), of Kurdi, the son of Abdullah (in Pashtrik), are considered here full *timars*, because their owners are not mentioned on the occasions as owners of full *timars*.

detail. It was comprised of the *ispendje* tax, the dues amounting to 25 akçe for each christian head of family and bachelor, the tax of the couple 22 akçe, the tax of the landless couple (*bennak*) 12 akçe and that of the bachelors 6 akçe which were taken in place of the *ispendje* from the heads of families who owned an area of land the size of a *çiflig*, from the landless married couples (*bennak*) and the muslim bachelors. The main income of the *spahis* was made up of the tithes on agricultural products, such as wheat, rye, barley, millet, flax, hay, must, pastures, fodder, beehives as well as of dues called *badihava*, meaning those unwritten in laws (the marriage tax etc). This shows that in the northeastern region of the sandjak, agriculture was the main branch of the economy.

The amount of the feudal rent taken in from the population of the afore-mentioned regions during the second half of the 16th century remained unchanged for the major part of the villages (49 villages), whereas in the others it increased (in 15 villages) or diminished (in 24 villages). According to the *nahiyes* these villages were distributed as follows:

Nahiyes	The amount of villages where the rent		
	had not changed	had increa- sed	had de- clined
Rudina	13	5	11
Domeshtiç	19	2	12
Pashtrik	17	8	1
Total	49	15	24

If we compare the difference in rent with the difference in the number of inhabitants for each village during the period 1571-91 we will notice that, in fact, in a small number of villages the entire rent was taken in with preci-

sion.¹⁸ For example, in 20 villages the feudal exploitation was further intensified, because the amount of dues had increase or had remained the same, whereas the number of households had diminished, whereas in the other villages the amount of dues had not increased or diminished despite the fact whether the number of households had increased or diminished. Hence, the increase or decrease of the population in a village was not accompanied by an increase or decrease of the amount of dues.

This situation is seen in the following table:

Nahiyes	In 49 villages where the rent had not changed the population had:			In 15 villages where the rent had increased the population had:			In 24 villages where the rent had diminished the population had:		
	increased	decreased	not changed	increased	decreased	not changed	increased	decreased	not changed
Rudina	6	1	3	4	1	—	6	6	—
Dome-shtiç	6	5	3	—	1	1	5	4	3
Pashtrik	10	3	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Total	22	9	15	4	5	6	11	10	3

On the other hand it is understandable that in the backward conditions of the tilling of the land during the period of the 16th century agricultural production could not increase within a short period of time, that is, from the registration of 1571 to that of 1591. Therefore, the

¹⁸ We think that this amount set for the whole village was further detailed in the cadastral registers by the *emins*, according to specific dues.

feudal rent could not increase, either, because most of the rent was made up of the income from the amount of production taken in as tithes. This is the main reason why in most villages the rent had remained unchanged. However, on the other hand, in a number of villages, as we said above, there was an increase or decrease in the amount of the rent. If we compare the data of the two registrations it can easily be observed that the increase or the decrease in the amount of the rent in them was a result of the increase or the decrease of the income from the tithes on the agricultural products and not from the changes in the amount of income from the ispendje tax, for it had remained nearly the same, because the number of the population had not changed (that is the number of heads of families and bachelors). The Islamization of a part of the inhabitants had brought about a small decline in the rent which was taken in the form of the married couple tax, the landless married couple tax or the bachelor tax, instead of the ispendje tax which used to be taken in when they were christians. On the other hand, this does not preclude the possibility that the attempts of the *spahis* to increase the amount of tithes in the *hass* villages had their influence on the increase or decrease of the rent. The *hass* villages were distributed in 1591 to the individual *spahis*. We are of the opinion that on the change in the rent registered in the books of 1571 and 1591 the raising or lowering of the value of the akçe had not much influence during the period 1571-1591, because it remained the same during this period, which can be understood from the unchanged prices for agricultural products, the tithes on which made up the main part of the rent.¹⁹

The data of the two sources clearly show the dynamics of the process of Islamization in the northeas-

19 We shall give the prices of the agricultural products in the three afore-mentioned nahiyes, according to the registration of 1571 and 1591:

tern region of the Sandjak of Dukagjin. This process developed before that, at least since the second half of the 16th century, because in 1571 we find a considerable number of Moslem heads of families (29 in the nahiyes of Rudina, 89 in the nahiye of Domeshtiç and 186 in the nahiye of Pashtrik. During the period 1571-1591 this process was intensified even further, especially in the nahiyes of Pashtrik and Domeshtiç. The number of the Islamized in 1591 had doubled compared to 1571. In the nahiye of Rudina there were now 73 heads of families who owned çiftligs, 11 landless married couples and 28 bachelors; in the nahiye of Domeshtiç there were 198 heads of families who owned çiftligs, 37 landless married couples and 94 bachelors; in the nahiye of Pashtrik there were 399 heads of families who owned çiftligs, 141 landless married couples and 254 bachelors. To create a clearer image of the dynamics of the process of Islamization and of the increase of the population during the period 1571-1591 we have the following table:

	<i>in 1571</i>				<i>in 1591</i>			
	50 akçe	per	bushel		50 akçe	për	bushel	
wheat	30	»	»	»	30	»	»	»
barley	30	»	»	»	30	»	»	»
rye	40	»	»	»	40	»	»	»
fodder	20	»	»	»	20	»	»	»
grist	20	»	»	»	25	»	»	»
must	10	»	»	»	10	»	»	»

Villages and phratries	Christian population							Moslem population						
	households			bachelors		widows		married couples		landless married couples		bachelors		
	1571	1591	1571	1571	1591	1571	1591	1571	1591	1571	1591	1571	1591	
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
1														
Nahiye of Rudina														
1. Djakovica	44	45	19	10	—	—	3	5	—	3	—	5	9	
2. Gorna Raça	25	7	16	5	—	—	—	22	—	—	—	—	—	
3. Dolina Raça	28	28	8	3	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
4. Bozhga	11	14	5	4	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	
5. Dujk	44	54	16	14	—	—	4	2	—	—	—	—	—	
Mehalla Guska	15	20	6	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
6. Brajković	30	35	10	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
7. Helmsan	24	52	7	20	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Mehaq quarter	14	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Voksha quarter	24	—	7	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
8. Shgjec	11	20	5	10	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	
9. Mjekerbard	17	14	—	6	—	—	2	9	—	—	—	1	—	
10. Bardonja	10	12	1	2	—	—	2	3	—	—	—	1	—	
11. Batka (Patka)	7	6	2	4	—	—	1	3	—	—	—	4	—	
12. Brush (Prush)	30	27	18	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
13. Zharkova	21	24	6	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
14. Zhup	11	15	8	6	—	—	2	2	—	1	2	1	—	
15. Mogolec	19	28	13	5	—	—	5	5	—	1	2	1	—	
16. Dega	26	31	12	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
17. Berolaj (Brelaj)	15	14	1	4	—	—	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
18. Popovca	13	11	9	—	—	—	—	2	6	—	—	—	—
19. Dolina Baksa	12	8	1	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
20. Luniž	8	10	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21. Vagova	18	23	9	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
22. Linić	38	32	16	15	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
23. Stobra	17	15	2	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
24. Gramos	7	3	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	—	—	—	—
25. Radagošt and Bytyč quarter	39	34	11	10	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
26. Kostur	12	15	6	5	—	—	—	2	6	—	—	—	—
Visoč quarter	13	10	5	3	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	2
Total	603	607	225	182	2	2	—	29	73	—	11	4	28

Nahiye of Domestic

1. Romanja	21	14	11	—	—	—	—	2	13	—	3	—	2
2. Dobris	28	18	2	4	—	—	—	6	11	3	3	—	5
3. Lubižda	40	35	12	6	—	—	—	1	5	—	—	—	—
4. Pina	12	10	3	—	—	—	—	4	5	—	1	—	2
5. Zvonica	23	16	6	4	—	—	—	7	10	3	1	—	8
6. Smak	34	40	6	11	—	—	—	1	7	—	3	—	1
7. Golisova	17	4	3	—	—	—	—	1	16	—	3	4	4
8. Bishtazin	45	29	13	8	—	—	—	—	6	—	2	—	3
9. Davidofica	25	17	9	6	—	—	—	3	6	—	—	—	2
10. Krajкова	26	14	6	5	—	—	—	1	8	—	1	—	5
11. Gjina	20	25	10	11	—	—	—	1	1	—	2	—	2
12. Trenova	28	25	—	2	—	—	—	3	10	—	—	—	3
13. Domjan	34	31	7	9	—	—	—	4	8	—	2	—	7

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14. Giracina	18	4	3	—	—	—	3	16	—	1	—	11
15. Tusista	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	8	1	—	5	4
16. Ifshan	19	23	9	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
17. Gorna Dol	7	9	1	4	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—
18. Dolina Dol	8	7	2	2	—	—	1	3	—	1	—	2
19. Krusevica	10	6	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
20. Radotica or Ujöz	36	33	15	6	—	—	1	4	—	3	—	5
21. Nak	10	1	4	—	—	—	5	11	3	3	1	3
22. Shkurta	4	4	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
23. Mazarak	27	18	8	12	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	1
24. Rogova	2	1	—	—	—	—	10	11	—	1	7	2
25. Dragomil	13	20	4	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
26. Fjerza	19	28	4	7	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
27. Ibrofica	20	14	5	—	—	—	—	6	—	4	—	4
28. Ljebovça	5	7	2	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
29. Kostandin	9	6	2	2	—	—	17	20	1	2	4	11
30. Sakaraniça	7	5	3	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2
31. Fragjenic	9	9	2	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
32. Yromsh	5	4	2	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	2
33. Luknan or Lokina	13	8	5	2	—	—	2	3	1	1	—	1
Total	594	485	169	144	—	—	89	198	13	37	17	94

Nahiye of Pashtrik

1. Goden:

Liuka quarter	5	13	2	2	—	—	4	7	—	—	—	4
Balgush quarter	16	14	9	5	—	—	3	5	—	—	—	4
Putu quarter	11	12	8	5	—	—	1	2	—	2	—	4
Gjurkan quarter	17	10	1	4	—	—	3	4	—	—	—	3
Diragtan	11	3	2	—	—	—	10	13	8	8	4	10
Maranza quarter	28	8	6	3	—	—	1	17	—	4	—	14

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Iskuraq quarter	20	11	5	2	—	—	2	13	4	6	—	16
Trenoga quarter	12	10	6	1	—	—	6	6	2	3	3	4
3. Gorozhub												
Buljar quarter	13	15	2	—	—	—	3	11	1	1	1	1
Koqisht quarter	14	—	3	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	—
Rens quarter	7	9	4	1	—	—	—	9	—	5	—	3
Blac quarter	10	—	3	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	—
Frahan quarter	7	13	2	7	—	—	1	12	—	5	1	11
Brajic quarter	12	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Tanush quarter	13	—	3	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	—
4. Vranishta	30	14	6	2	—	—	24	36	9	14	3	18
5. Pustoshar	5	—	—	—	—	—	20	26	9	11	10	8
6. Tizhub	32	8	11	3	—	—	5	17	3	8	—	15
7. Zym or Zybofic	21	23	3	6	—	—	2	3	—	—	—	3
8. Buça	10	8	2	—	—	—	6	6	—	6	—	11
9. Harami Binari	25	33	6	5	1	—	1	2	—	1	—	2
10. Golan	35	29	8	10	—	—	6	11	2	7	—	7
11. Ivllahina	24	10	11	—	—	—	14	25	7	13	6	8
12. Domovishta	14	11	4	3	—	—	1	7	—	—	—	—
13. Zaharis	25	9	12	2	—	—	9	29	2	2	—	31
14. Milishta	223	22	9	5	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	1
15. Pllajna	26	26	12	3	—	—	3	4	—	2	1	4
16. Nikoliq	27	23	10	2	—	—	8	15	4	11	3	13
17. Krumja	17	21	6	3	—	—	17	19	12	—	16	13
18. Shegjc i Vogël	9	12	6	3	—	—	4	5	—	2	1	—
19. Zirz	27	9	9	—	—	—	6	16	6	9	6	5
20. Qar	31	21	12	8	—	—	1	6	1	1	1	3

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
21. Ginovça	7	5	4	2	—	—	4	6	—	2	2	2
22. Billac or Klishan	27	18	10	3	—	—	7	16	2	3	5	16
23. Kojush	29	27	8	9	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	1
24. Mirez	22	12	2	4	—	—	2	16	1	3	—	5
25. Darda	35	26	6	6	—	—	5	25	5	12	7	11
26. Shqelan	4	2	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	1
Total	701	487	215	109	1	—	186	399	82	141	72	254



Apart from the data about the socio-economic situation of the north-eastern regions of the Dukagjini sandjak, the censuses have great importance. In the two registers in question, in order to record the dues for each village, the names of the heads of families and the able-bodied males have been written alongside with their religion, Christian or Muslim.²⁰

As a result these sources are rich in anthroponymic data which show that the population of the regions of Rudina, Domeshtiç and Pashtrik was entirely Albanian, a thing that is proved by the fact that the inhabitants, like those of the internal region of the Dukagjin vilajet had mostly typical Albanian names, such as Gjin, Gjon, Gac, Bac, Kol, Gjec, Doda, Prend, Gjika (Gika), Biba, Kola (Kuka), Doda, Lika, Nue, Stefan, Lula, Dida, Duka, Vata, Jaka, Petri (Pjetri), Koja and others. There is no doubt that in the known historical conditions in which the Albanian population was forced to live under the Serb occupation in the 11th-14th centuries, and later under Ottoman rule, the Albanian anthroponymy was used by the Albanian population.

On the other hand, the Slavonic anthroponymy had an insignificant influence on the anthroponymy used by the inhabitants of that region during the 16th century, as in the internal nahiye regions of the sandjak: Fand i Madh, Fand i Vogël, Iballa, Spas etc. It was felt much less there than in the anthroponymy of the inhabitants of the neighbouring province of Altun-Ilia at the end

20 Unlike the registers of the 15th century, in these two sources family ties (brother... son... cousin..., etc.) of the registered inhabitants have not been mentioned. Sometimes, when the persons are described as bachelors and have the same surname as the head of the family registered, these ties are implied. In such cases we have put down the father and the son.

of the 15th century and the 16th century. In these regions, the Albanian anthroponymy had preserved its specific ethnic character, that is why there are only rare cases of inhabitants with a Slavonic name and surname (a total of 95 inhabitants)*. Only a small number of inhabitants (643), compared to the total number of the registered population (2507 Christian inhabitants and 492 Moslem inhabitants) made up the mixed Albanian-Slavonic population, having a Slavonic name and an Albanian surname, or vice-versa. Such cases existed in the following villages:

- Dolina Raça: Prend Bojko, Stepa Prendi
 Mogolec: Vuka Biba, Bac Vuka, Gjin Vuka, Vuja Bojko, Gjon Bojko, Stefan Vuja
 Vagova: Deja Baci, Tola Deja, Pejo Kola, Gjec Pejo, Deja Pejo, Deja Biba, Pejo Biba, Nina Boga, Gjin Boga.
 Lubižda: Andre Boga, Gjika Dejani, Deja Benda, Pejo Popa.
 Domjan: Jovan Tusha, Deja Gjeci, Deja Gjergji, Deja Andrea, Deja Noja.
 Goden, the Balgush quarter: Gjergj Pejo, Boshko Koka, Gac Stepa.
 The Gjurkan quarter: Stojko Nikolla, Deja Gika, Lika Petko, Deja Koka.
 Milishta: Deja Nina, Sajko Kola, Deja Koka

The ratio between the Albanian and Slavonic names used by the inhabitants of the region in question can be seen in the following table:

The Serbian names most widely used in that region are: Stepa, Deja (Dejan), Nisă (Stanisa), Vuka (Vuk), Pejo, Bojko, Gjura, Boga etc. Some of them such as Vu-

* In the village of Djakovica (Gjakova), the influence of the Slavonic anthroponymy was greater than in any other place of the three afore-mentioned nahiye.

Nahiye	Christian population					Moslem population			
	Heads of families and owners of gardens		Inhabitants with such names:			Heads of families with land, married, landless, bachelors	Islamized inhab. with such sur-names		
	1571	1591	Albanian 1571	Alb. Slav. 1571	Slav. 1571	1571	1591	Albanian 1571	Slavonic 1571
1. Rudina	828	791	556	214	58	33	112	9	6
2. Dome-shtiç	763	599	520	215	28	119	329	30	6
3. Pash-trik	916	596	692	214	10	340	794	166	25
Total	2507	1986	1768	643	96	492	1235	205	37

ka, Nisa, Deja are in fact forms used in the Albanian language for the slavonic names, such as Vuk, Stanisha, Dejan, which show that the population of that region was an Albanian speaking population. The fact that there was a small number of inhabitants with Albanian-Slavonic names does not mean that they were Slavs, not only because they did not have purely Slavonic names and lived in a compact habitat with Albanian names, but also because it was not always true that a Slavonic element had a Slavonic name. We often find that during the Middle Ages the Albanian element of the northern regions had Slavonic names. This is explained with the influence of the political-religious factors on the Albanian people during the period of the Serb rule in the 11th-14th centuries.

Apart from the examples which prove the spread of such a phenomenon, especially in the bordering regions of the Shkodra sandjak,²¹ we shall mention another case in which the influence of the political-religious factors in the anthroponymy of the Albanian element can be seen. As is known, in the documents of the 14th century nine Albanian shepherd villages are mentioned as part of the Saint-Arhangjel feud (1348-1352): Gjinovc, Magjerc, Bjellogllave, Flokovc, Crnča, Çaparc, Gjonovc, Shpinadinc and Novac²². Unfortunately the names of their inhabitants during the 14th and 15th centuries are not known, because there are no documents about them.²³ However, it is certain that they were Albanian shepherds, hence we may suppose that the majority of their names in the 14th century were Albanian, as was the case of the Albanian villages of Kelmend and Piper in 1485.²⁴ From the register of the Prizren sandjak (1591) we can judge about the anthroponymy of those villages at a later period, the result of some processes which had occurred earlier and, to some extent, the road they traversed during more than two centuries. At the end of the 16th century the «Katon» (shepherd villages) known as Gjinovc, Magjerc, Crnca, Çaparc, Shpinadinc, and Novac were transformed into villages proper with the former names (in the register they appear as Gjinofo, Shpinadija, Magjirca, Novak, Çaparça and Crn-

21 See S. Pulaha, *The Albanian Element according to the Onomastics of the Regions of the Shkodra Sandjak in 1485-1582*, in «Historical Studies», no. 1, pp. 63-103.

22 S. Novaković, *Selo, Srpska knizhevna zadruga*, Beograd 1943, p. 278; R. Ivanović, *Katunska naselja na manastirskim vlastelinsivima*, in *Istoriski časopis knjiga V*, 1954-1955; p. 400; *Selected Sources on the History of Albania*, Tirana 1962, v. I; p. 147.

23 Anthroponymic data are found only in the village of Magjirca at the end of the 15th century. The register book of the Shkodra sandjak BV, A, *Tapu defterleri*, no. 17, pp. 446-447.

24 Ibidem, p. 189-204.

ça)²⁵. The data on the «bashtina» (garden) and the «çiflig» (estate) and the tithes on the agricultural products show that their inhabitants engaged mainly in agricultural pursuits.

The personal names of these villages reveal that, apart from a number of Islamized inhabitants with names of Islamic onomastics, the rest had mainly names of the sphere of the Slavonic and not the Albanian onomastics.²⁶ If we proceed from the principle that each inhabitant with a Slavonic name is a Slav, we must accept that these villages had been Slavonized during the process of settlement, a thing that can be accepted if we keep in mind that the aforementioned «Katun» were in a region which bordered on the zone of the Slavonic element.²⁷ Therefore, part of the Slavonic anthroponym stands for a Slavization of the former Albanian element. However, it is impossible that the use of the Slavonic anthroponymy by all the unislamiized elements resulted from the total Slavization of the Albanian shepherds, because they were not isolated in an environment of a Slavonic people, but lived in a habitat with a predominating Albanian population. This is proved by the fact that in a series of neighbouring villages, such as Lutoglava, Smak, Dolina, Srbica, Medvece, Petrovica, Pirane, most of the inhabitants had at the same time, purely Albanian names, which means that

²⁵ TK.A., register no. 55. Register of the Prizren sandjak, pp. 11-39, 41-43. We were not able to find any village connected with the formation of the villages Bjelloglavc, Flokovc and Gjonovc. At the end of the study we shall give a complete list of the heads of families and owners of the «bashtina» in those villages.

²⁶ We also find the name Dimiter in the Wallachian form Dimitru.

²⁷ We cannot imagine that the shepherds of those villages left there and their place was taken by Slav inhabitants, because, in that case, the villages created would not have had the names of those villages.

they were Albanians.²⁸ Such names were also used by a number of inhabitants of other neighbouring villages Hoça, Çelina, Radkovic (Radkovac), Radostuh, Damofic, Dolina Potočani, Zirzova, Buskidol, Noshpal (Nushpal), Zojnik (Zojic), Danjani, Srush(?), Vranja, Popofic, Gorna Radmila, Ishtafica Sopnik, Klagjova (Gjelagjova)²⁹. These villages were situated between the aforementioned villages and the region of Hass where nearly all the inhabitants had purely Albanian names.³⁰

Those villages could not have become completely Slav because in the 15th and 16th centuries, after the Ottoman invasion, i.e., with the destruction of the state apparatus which had been in the hands of the Serb feudal class, the conditions were no longer favourable for the intensification of the process of Slavization. Therefore, part of the Albanian inhabitants of the villages in question must have used Slavonic names because of the political-religious factors during the time of the Serbian rule, as occurred with the spread of the Islamic religion, when part of them acquired Islamic names.³¹ This is comprehensible if we keep in mind the fact that the Albanian villages mentioned were property of an Orthodox religious institution, a thing that must have brought about their conversion into the Orthodox religion. The anthroponymic data of the village of Magjrica, in the register book of the Shkodra sandjak of 1485³²,

28 TK. A., register no. 55, Register of the Prizren sandjak, fl. 27, 35, 36, 58, 60, 79.

29 Ibidem, fl. 52, 56-63, 66, 68-71, 75, 79.

30 The inhabitants of the Prizren sandjak at the end of the 16th century had partly Albanian and partly Slavonic names. Studies of the data of an ethnic character in the register of that sandjak are a special problem.

31 Here some Moslem inhabitants of the village of Shpinadija, who are called immigrants (prišilić) are excluded. See register of the Prizren sandjak fl. 39.

32 The Magjrica village appears in the Shkodra registration book because it belonged to a *spahi* (captain of the cavalry) who

lead us to the same conclusion. According to them the names of the heads of families were not all Slavonic, although they were Orthodox, a thing that can be proved by the fact that a «Pop Nenko» was mentioned there. Part of them had Albanian names or Albanian-Slavonic names such as Koja Radoi, Kola the brother of Gjura, Doda the son of Brata and the brother of Nene, Gjin, Dimitr the son of Jovan and the brother of Kola, Gjura Koja, Lula and his brother Jovan.³³ A century later the personal names in the village of Magjrica had changed. They were replaced by Islamic or Slavonic names. On the other hand, the preservation of Albanian names by the majority of the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages in question: Smak, Dolina Srbica, Lutoglava, Medvece, Petrovica, Piranc, is explained by the fact that their inhabitants did not accept the Orthodox religion.

Hence, we may conclude that the Slavonic names of the inhabitants of those regions cannot serve as an absolute criteria to determine that the inhabitants of those villages were Slavs. The few inhabitants of these villages, who had mixed Albanian-Slavonic names and who can be found within a compact Albanian environment, such as the region of the provinces of Rudina, Domeshtiç, and Pashtrik are not Slavs, but Albanians. This can also be proved by the family ties which are revealed in many cases among the inhabitants with simple Albanian names and those with Albanian-Slavonic names. They often appear as branches of Albanian families with Albanian names. In the nahiye of Rudina, in the village of Zharkova, next to Doda Pali appears the name of his son Tepan Pali as a bachelor; in the village of Storbrda, Gjon Baci and his son Petko Baci; in the Domeshtiç nahiye in the village of Lubizhda; Doda Biba and his son Deja Doda; in the village of Bishtazin: Koja Goga and his son Deja Koja; in the nahiye of Pashtrik,

did his military service in the Shkodra sandjak. From the administrative point of view it was not included in that sandjak.

³³ BV. A, *Tapu defterleri*, no. 17, pp. 446-447.

in the village of Goden: Koka Lika and his son Stepa Lika; Koka Gjoni and his son Deja Gjoni and others.

The influence of Slavonic anthroponymy in that region must have been greater in the 15th century than in the 16th century, but Albanian names always predominated. Such a thing can be seen if we compare the names which the inhabitants of some villages had in the 16th century to their names in the 15th century.³⁴ For example, at the end of the 15th century the village of Djakovica (Gjakova) included in the Altun-ilia region, which depended on the Shkodra sandjak, had a population with a mixed Albanian-Slavonic anthroponymy, in which Slavonic names predominated. Whereas in the 16th century the Slavonic names had been replaced by Albanian names which were then used by more than half the number of the inhabitants. Likewise, in the village of Vagova in 1485, half the number of the inhabitants had Albanian names, whereas the other half had Slavonic names. At the end of the 16th century the heads of families and the bachelors of that village had Albanian names.³⁵

Proceeding from these examples it may be said that in the other villages the influence of the Slavonic names among the Albanian elements must have declined in the 16th century, because of the new historical conditions created after the Ottoman invasion and the final destruc-

34 We may make this comparison only for the villages Djakovica and Vagova of the Rudina region for we do not possess any document of the 15th century for other villages of that region. We have the census of 1485 for Djakovica and Vagova. The register of the Shkodra sandjak. B.V.A. *Tapu defterleri*, no. 17, pp. 392, 417-418.

35 In 1571 this village had 18 heads of families and 9 bachelors. Of them only 9 had mixed Albanian-Slavonic names such as Deja Baci, Tola Deja, Pejo Kola, Gjec Pejo, Deja Biba, Pejo Biba, Nina Boga, Gjin Boga, BV. A. *Tapu defterleri*, no. 499 pp. 111-1112.

tion of the state of the Serbian feudal class, the loss of the dominant positions of the Serb Church, the spread of Islamism etc. The example of the villages of Djakovica and Vagova shows that in these villages the Slavonic names had had a greater influence on the naming of the inhabitants than in the other villages of the northeastern region of the Dukagjin sandjak, where the influence of Slavonic anthroponymy must have been slighter even in the 15th century.

The domination of the Albanian names among the inhabitants during the 15th-16th centuries, failure of the contemporary documentary sources to mention any migration to that region, that is, the immigration of the Slavonic or Albanian elements at the first stage after the Ottoman invasion, enable us to reach the conclusion that the Albanians were natives in those territories even in the period before the Ottoman invasion.

The data of the registration book of the Dukagjin sandjak, which we presented before, confirm the view expressed long ago by Šufflay and Jireček that the region which lied up to the Erenik River in the north and bordered on the Drin i Bardhë in the east and south, i.e., the territories included in the Rudina, Pashtrik and Domeshtiç provinces, were territories inhabited by Albanians in the early Middle Ages.³⁶ Thus, we may push the frontiers of the Albanian element defined by Šufflay and Jireček still further, because Albanians lived also in territories on the other side of the Drin i Bardhë, such as the villages in the nahiye of Hoça and Prizren. However, as we know, the opinion expressed about the presence of Albanians in those regions has been contradicted both by the old Yugoslav historiography and by

³⁶ M. Šufflay, *Die Grenzen Albaniens im Mittelalter*, in «Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen». München und Leipzig 1916, Bd. I, pp. 202-203. K. Jireček, *Albanien in der Vergangenheit und Skutari und sein Gebiet im Mittelalter*, in «Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen», Bd. I, pp. 69-70, 117.

authors of today. According to M. Filipović, one of the authors who has recently written the book entitled «Hass at the foot of Pashtrik»³⁷ about this problem, the region of Hass, that is, the northeastern region of the Dukagjin sandjak, has allegedly been a territory inhabited by a Slavonic population and during the 17th-18th centuries was peopled with Albanian highlanders who moved in from the internal regions and replaced the Slavonic population which had moved towards the north during the period of the struggles for freedom against the Ottomans and especially after the Austrian-Turkish War of 1683-1690. According to him the Slavonic population which remained there was Islamized or turned Albanian.³⁸

The anthroponymic data of the material we are publishing proves that, in the second half of the 16th century, the population of the regions of Rudina, Domeshtiç and Pashtrik were Albanians. This shows, at the same time, that in the 17th and 18th centuries there was no displacement of the Slavonic population by the Albanian population. After the 16th century in Albania inhabitants from the internal regions came to settle in this region and founded the present-day villages of Dedaj and Marash, which are not mentioned in either census of the Dukagjin sandjak of the 16th century. In fact these were settlements of a population on a territory inhabited by the same population. Likewise we cannot speak of an Islamization of the Slavonic element there either, because the Islamized inhabitants in the 16th century were Albanians. This can be clearly seen in a number of villages where this process was at its first stage of development. In these sources, the Islamized inhabitants that figure in both censuses of the Dukagjin sandjak still had Albanian surnames which in fact were the first names of their parents, during the second half of the 16th century.

37 M. Filipović, *Has pod Paštrikom*, Sarajevo 1958.

38 Ibidem, pp. 22-29.

On the other hand, the fact that part of the villages of the aforementioned regions had Slavonic toponymy cannot be used as an argument to prove that those settlements were territories inhabited by Slavs during the Middle Ages.³⁹ The data of the sources in question as well as the facts that emerge from the registration books of the Shkodra sandjak in the 15th-16th centuries⁴⁰ lead to the conclusion that we cannot equalize the character of the toponymy of an inhabited centre with its ethnic belonging. Thus, for example, in the concrete occasion in the regions of Rudina, Domeshtiç and Pashtrik, apart from the villages with Albanian place names we also find villages with Slavonic place names, which were inhabited by Albanians, which is proved by the fact that their inhabitants had Albanian names. We may mention for example: Dolina Raca, Gorna Raca, Brajkovic, Zarkova, Zup, Popovca, Vagova Stobrd, Radagosht in the province of Rudina; Lubiza, Izvonica, Golisova, Krajкова, Trenova, Gorna Dol, Dolina, Dol, Kruševica, Radotica (it had also the Albanian name Ujëz), Rogova, Dragomil, Ljebovca in the Domeshtiç region; Goden, Gorozub, Vranista, Gizub, Domovista, Milista, Plajna in the Pashtrik region. These data convince us that the Slavonic place names used there emerged not only as a result of the incursions of the Slavonic population in the early Middle Ages, but also because of the influence of other factors, for example, the factors of a political-religious character, which exerted their influence for a long time during the period of the rule of the Serb state in the 11th-14th centuries⁴¹. But the study of those toponyms is a separate problem.

³⁹ Ibidem, pp. 30-32.

⁴⁰ S. Pulaha, op. cit. pp. 79-80.

⁴¹ See S. Pulaha, op. cit., p. 79.

THE TOWNS OF THE DUKAGJIN PLATEAU AND KOSOVA IN THE OTTOMAN LAND REGISTERS OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE 16th CENTURY

As is known, modern historiography has at its disposal only few and fragmentary direct sources of information, especially information of an economic, social and ethnic character, about the history of the towns of the Dukagjin Plateau and Kosova in the period from the 14th to the 17th centuries. Amongst the existing sources about the period before the Ottoman occupation, Ragusine official documents and reports from Ragusine merchants, who operated in these territories, which were for many centuries under the rule of the Serbian state and the jurisdiction of the Serbian Orthodox Church¹, occupy an

1 K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba*, V. I., pp. 247-279. M. Dinić, *Iz Dubrovackog arhiva*, I-III, Belgrade 1957, 1963, 1967; *Iz istorije rudarstva u srednjevekovnoj Srbiji i Bosnji*, I-II, Belgrade 1955, 1962; D. Kovacevic, *O Janjevu u doba srednjovekovne srpske države*, *Istorijski glasnik* 1952, 1-4, pp. 121-126; N. Radojčić, *Zakon u rudnicima despota Stefana Lazarevića*, SANU, Beograd 1962.

important place. About the period after the Ottoman occupation in 1455, of special interest are the documents of the Ottoman administration, especially cadaster books of the 15th-16th centuries, protocols of the Sultan's Imperial Council (*mühimme defterleri*), apart from contemporary Ottoman legislation — the kanunnamehs of the Sandjaks of Prizren, Vuçitern, etc. which were known earlier. However, due to their fragmentary character, these, too, do not allow us to follow the course of the economic and social development of the towns under discussion step by step.

The studies and documents published so far both for the period of the Serb occupation and that of the Ottoman occupation in the 16th-17th centuries, are one-sided, reflecting mainly the development of handicrafts and especially mining in the eastern cities of the region of Kosova — Novobërda, Janjeva, Trepçe, with no mention of the other cities.² Records in the cadastre books published so far, as for example, those of 1455 about these zones, give no information on most towns.³

2 M. Dinic, *Iz istoriju rudarstva*, . . ., I-II, Belgrade 1955; 1962; N. Baldiceanu, *Les actes des premier sultans conservés dans les manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris*, I — Actes de Mehmed II et de Bajazid II, 1960; II Reglements miniers 1390-1512, Paris 1964; S. Rizaj, *Rudarstvo Kosova i susednih Krajeva*, Prishtina 1968; *Turske kovnice novca (darhane) u Novom Brdu, Skopiju i Kratova*, Albanoloska istrazivanja: knjiga III; *Rudari (medendzijeç u sistemu privilegija i duznosti (muaf ve müsselem reaya)*, Glasnik muzeja Kosova i Metohije, IX, Prishtina 1964; N. Filipovic, *Iz istorije Novog Brda u drugoj polovini IV i prvoj polovini XVI vijeka*, Godisnjak drusta istoricara Bosne i Hercegovine, 1954, pp. 64-85; D. Kovacevic, *Prilog proucavanja zanastva u Novom Brdu i okolini* in *Spomenica Mihalla Dinica*, Belgrade 1964, pp. 525-532 (Zbornik Filozofsko Fakulteta, knjiga VIII-2);

3 H. Hadzibegic, A. Handzic, E. Kovacevic, *Oblast Brankovica*, Sarajevo 1972; H. Sabanovic, *Krajiste Isa Begu Ishakovica*, zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455 godine, Sarajevo 1964.

As the result of the time gaps and the territorial limitations of the documents published so far, the history of these towns in the 14th-16th centuries has not been properly brought to light. This paper is intended at making the picture more complete and shedding some more light on the course of the socio-economic and political development of these towns, dealing with the second half of the 14th century, about which documents are almost totally missing. For this we shall base ourselves mainly on information provided by Ottoman cadastre books, like the detailed cadastre books of the Shkodra Sandjak of 1582 (for Peja), of the Dukagjin and Prizren Sandjak of 1591 (for Gjakova and Prizren), and of the Vuçitern Sandjak under Sultan Selim II (1566-1574) (for Prishtina, Vuçitern, Novobërda, Janjeva and Trepça).⁴ These books, unpublished until now, provide the possibility of comparing the situation of these towns in the 14th century with that of the 15th century, of seeing the changes which have occurred in the socio-economic development, following the process of Islamization, etc. Apart from these, the cadastre books also bring very interesting information of an ethnic character, which prove that the overwhelming majority of the population of the towns was Albanian. Let us look at this information in more detail.

Cadastre records on the towns, with the information they provide on the trades of their dwellers, on the taxes they paid in kind or in money and on the number of households, are clear evidence that in the second half of the 16th century the productive forces revived in most towns of the Dukagjin Plateau and Kosova despite the heavy blows they suffered in the 15th century by the

4 Tapu ve kadastro umum müdürlüğünün arsivi (T.K.A.), *defteri mufassal livai Prizren*, no. 55, pp. 13-17; *defteri mufassal livai Dukagin*, no. 63, 41; *defteri mufassal livai Iskenderiye*, no. 59, pp. 141-144; *defteri mufassal livai Vuçitern*, no. 124, pp. 1-7, 95-97, 112-115, 229-231, 311-315.

Ottoman invasion and the new obstacles created with the establishment of the backward Ottoman feudal military order, especially the timar system, which brought about the economic, administrative and political fragmentation and isolation of the country, the strengthening of the separate natural economy of the timar village, as well as a series of other factors which slowed down development rates.

This revival was made possible by the regeneration and development of the productive forces in the countryside, a progress conditioned by the high level they had already reached in the period prior to the Ottoman occupation. The handicrafts developed to meet the needs of the town dwellers for consumer goods. The transformation of towns into military-administrative centres, the building and repair of military and public objects increased the demand for goods and this, in return, promoted the growth of production. This called for more work force from among the peasants, especially from those who fled from the timars to escape the savage exploitation of the spahis. The surpluses created as the result of the work of the peasantry and the rent in kind collected by the feudal class, went more and more to the enrichment of the towns. Thus, their population and goods circulation increased. However, their revival was slow and was achieved only after a period of more than a century. By the end of the 16th century the towns had increased the number of their inhabitants and become urban centres.

In regard to their size, the towns come in this order: Prizren — 557 households, Prishtina — 506 households,⁵

5 In 1477 Prishtina had 350 Christian households and 51 Moslem households. Now it has 105 more households. See A. Handžić, *Nekoliko vijesti o arbanasima*, Symposium on Skanderbeg (May 9-12, 1968), Prishtina 1969, p. 209.

Trepça — 447 households, Novobërda — 366 households⁶, Vuçitern — 286 households, Janjeva — 288 households, Peja — 158 households, whereas Gjakova, a village, had only 46 households. The towns had several quarters each. Peja had 19 quarters, Prizren and Prishtina — 20, Trepça — 22, Vuçitern — 10, Janjeva — 8. The number of the households is given in more detail in the following table:

No.	Cities	Moslem population		Christian population		
		Households	of which newly Islamized	Households	Bachelors	Widows
1. Peja		143	20	15	2	—
2. Gjakova		8	—	38(45) ⁷	10	—
3. Prizren		320	30	237	37	—
4. Vuçitern		228	31	58(97)	17	—
5. Prishtina		307	14	199(247)	93	—
6. Novobërda		138	14	228	29	14
7. Janjeva		41	13	247	17	5
8. Trepça		94	11	353	53	21
Total		1279	123	1375(1469)	258	40

The cadastre books with their information on the trades exercised by the town-dwellers, show that, with

⁶ Novobërda was an exception to this. It suffered a considerable reduction of its population. According to the census of 1498-1499 it had 38 quarters with 887 households, whereas now it has 28 quarters with 366 households (M. Dinić, *Za istoriju rudarstva u areдне vekovnoj Srbiji i Bosni, II*, Beograd 1962, p. 81). This shows that mining, which was the main pursuit of the inhabitants of the town, was in decline.

⁷ The number in brackets indicates the households together with garden-owners.

the development of handicrafts, the towns, although small as to the numbers of their population, were being transformed into important handicraft-trading centres. This is also seen from the fact that there were about 55 different trade pursuits in those centres. Prizren was the biggest centre in the Dukagjin Plateau and in Kosova, with about 45 trade pursuits. The trades linked with the processing of agricultural-livestock products destined to meet the needs of the population and the army for footwear, etc., had more importance. According to these books, in Prizren there were tailors (27), felt makers (23), tanners (19), shoe-makers (17), cart makers (17), ferriers (12), butchers (14), silkworkers (16), bakers (7), locksmiths (5), saddlers (4). Apart from these, there were also silversmiths (5), furriers (5), leatherworkers (3), cooks (3), coffee-potters, etc. The production and processing of silk was developed in Prizren more than in any other Albanian town, as seen from the great amount of taxes (about 150 000 akçe a year) collected from the weighing of silk cocoons in the process of selling and buying.⁸

The number of shops from 117 that existed in Prizren in 1538, as recorded in the *kanunnameh* of Hajredin (Kukli Bey),⁹ had now doubled, reaching 241.¹⁰ This clearly shows that the number of craftsmen taking part in the production and exchange of goods had increased, as well as the amount of products on the market. Prizren was an important commercial centre which was greatly favoured by its geographical position; it was sited on the road which linked coastal Albania with the interior regions of the Balkans. The town had several market

8 Tk.A., *defteri mufassal liva-i Prizren*, no. 55, 1951, p. 8.

9 Z. Shkodra, *Esnafët shqiptarë*, Tirana 1973, p. 31.

10 There were all in all 246 craftsmen, since 5 of them were: *telakë* (3), *hamamkeeper* (1), *loudcrier* (1), the number of the shops should be smaller (241).

places such as the Old Market, the Grain Market, the Leather Market, etc.¹¹ Indeed, the Old Market and the Grain Market formed separate quarters by the end of the 16th century. In the city there were only 5 trading shops, which shows that the exchange of goods was mostly carried out by the producers themselves, the craftsmen.

Prishtina was the second city of Kosova, after Prizren, in the level of the socio-economic development, although it had the same number of population as Prizren. Twenty-eight trades, in about 100 shops, were exercised in the town.¹² There were tailors (20), miners (12), tanners (10), merchants (8), grocers (6), farriers (4), locksmiths (4), saddlers (1), etc. From the administrative viewpoint Prishtina was the most important centre of Kosova. There lived *zaims* (6), cavalymen (64), *emins* (8), janissaries (3), seraskers (1), the kadi, ushers (3), representatives of Islamic religious institutions, etc.

Peja and Vuçitern were less developed economically than Prizren and Prishtina. About 22 trades were exercised there. The number of craftsmen in Peja was greater (68) than in Vuçitern (59). Since Vuçitern was also an administrative centre, it also had spahis (29), ushers (5) and representatives of Islamic religious institutions. It was larger than Peja in number of inhabitants, but its handicraft-commercial activity was not as important as Peja's.

The three other cities; Novobërda, Trepça and Janjeva had similar features of socio-economic development, but distinguished themselves from the other cities of the Dukagjin Plateau and Kosova by being mainly mining centres and indeed very important ones, taking

¹¹ Z. Shkodra, op. cit., p. 34.

¹² There are altogether 108 craftsmen. The number of shops should have been smaller since part of them were *telakë* (6), and town-criers (3).

into consideration the conditions in the 16th century. The cadastre book records 26 minters of the mint workshop, 9 mining masters, 9 foremen, a controller of coin values, etc. for Novobërda; 9 miners, 2 silversmiths, 1 saddler, for Trepça; 6 miners, 8 silversmiths, 3 foremen, etc. for Janjeva. Other trades unrelated to mining were much less developed than in Prizren and Prishtina. Thus, in Novobërda 28 handicraftsmen exercised 16 trades, in Trepça 25 handicraftsmen — 18 trades, in Janjeva 26 handicraftsmen — 11 trades. Consequently, the number of shops in each of these cities did not go beyond 30. In Novobërda and Trepça the trades of silversmiths, shoemakers, butchers, must have been more developed in former times, since we find there silversmiths', shoemakers', tailor's, furriers' and butchers' quarters. The number of handicraftsmen in Novobërda had increased as against that of the year 1455¹³, and was more or less the same as that of the 30'ies of the 15th century.¹⁴

The number of merchants in those towns was small. Novobërda must have been a more important centre, because its market occupied a separate quarter, and the Lower Trepça still bore the name of the Old Market (Stari Trg).

The data of the cadastre books on the number of handicrafts exercised in those towns show that there, despite the obstacles interposed by the Ottoman feudal military order, a social division of labour in the profes-

13 D. Kovacević, *Prilog proucavanju zanatstva...*, p. 529. In 1455 there were these handicraftsmen: 6 clockmakers, 2 cannoners, 1 gunsmith, 1 swordsmith, 6 blacksmiths, 6 butchers, 4 builders, 1 arrowmaker.

14 Ibid., p. 528. According to the book by the Dubrovnik trader Mihail Lukarević, these handicraftsmen existed: 12 blacksmiths, 14 tailors, 4 silversmiths, 5 shoemakers, 4 furriers, 5 butchers, 2 carpenters, 2 saddlers, 2 hatmakers, 1 gunsmith, 1 baker, 1 stonemason.

sional field had already come into being, which had a positive effect on the development of urban life and the expansion of economic relations between town and countryside. The social division of labour and the production of goods show that the internal local markets already existed and that the monetary economy was penetrating ever deeper into the natural economy prevailing in the timar village. In this period we also see the organization of fairs, especially in Prishtina and Prizren, the emergence of a large stratum of merchants and money-changers, and the building of markets, carvansarays, etc. Although we find no trace of a guild organization in our documents, the growth of the local market in these territories, especially in Prizren and Prishtina, shows that handicraftsmen would soon organize themselves in guilds, which was necessary for the further development of production and circulation.

This was heralded, among other things, by the state issuing dispositions for the regulation of the economic life in the local markets, as seen in the *kanunnameh* of the Prizren Sandjak in 1570, in which rules were set for commercial exchanges, taxes, prices, weights, etc.

Trades	Prizren				Pristina				Peja				Vuçiterna			
	Craftsmen				Craftsmen				Craftsmen				Craftsmen			
	Moslems	Christians	Total		Moslems	Christians	Total		Moslems	Christians	Total		Moslems	Christians	Total	
			3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Total	
1. Taylor	24	3			27	19	1	20	18	1	19	14			14	14
2. Worstedmaker	23				23	1		1								
3. Tanner	19				19	10		10	8		8	1			1	1
4. Cartmaker	17				17	1		1								
5. Shoemaker	14	3			17											
6. Butcher	14				14	1		1	2		2	3			3	3
7. Farrier	12				12	4		4	3		3	10			10	10
8. Silkworker	15	1			16							1			1	1
9. Baker	6				6				1		1					
10. Tradesman	5				5	8		8	6		6					
11. Salesman						6		6				3				3
12. Carpenter	5				5											
13. Locksmith	5				5	4		4	1		1					
14. Saddlemaker	4				4											
15. Silversmith	1	4			5				1		1	1			1	1
16. Furdresser	2	3			5				2		2	2			2	2
17. Barber	4				4	1		1								
18. Slippermaker	1	3			4				5		5					
19. Saddlemaker	4				4				1		1	2			2	2
20. Bootmaker	4				4				1		1					

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
21. Leatherworker			3	—	3	—	—	—	4	—	4	1	—	1
22. Telak			3	—	3	6	—	6	5	—	5	6	—	6
23. Boruzan			3	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
24. Soapmaker			3	—	3	3	—	3	1	—	1	1	—	1
25. Dyesman			3	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
26. Cooker			3	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2
27. Tailor			3	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
28. Spoonmaker			2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
29. Pastryman			2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
30. Sarékçi			2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
31. Miller			1	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
32. Herbarist			1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
33. Landsurveyor			1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
34. Swordsmit			1	—	1	1	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	—
35. Shieldmaker			1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
36. Haberdasher			1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
37. Coffee-pot-maker			1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
38. Blacksmith			1	1	2	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
39. Caravanman											—	1	—	1
40. Town-crier			1	—	1	3	—	3	—	—	—	1	—	1
41. Candlemaker			1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
42. Hatmaker			1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
43. Leatherworker			—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
44. Bathkeeper			1	—	1	3	—	3	1	—	1	2	—	2
45. Arrowmaker			—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
46. Miner			—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
47. Foundryman			—	—	—	12	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—
48. Wool-carder			—	—	—	6	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—
49. Weightsman			—	—	—	2	—	2	1	—	1	1	—	1
50. Shoeseller			6	—	6	5	1	6	1	—	1	2	—	2
51. Saltseller			—	—	—	1	—	1	1	1	—	1	—	1

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
52. Hackdoctor		—	—	—	2	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	1
53. Caravanman		—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3	3	—	3
54. Nailmaker		—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
55. «Boza» maker		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
56. Hide shoemaker	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total		227	19	246	105	3	108	67	1	68	59	—	59

TRADES OF THE CITIES OF NOVOBERDA, TREPÇA AND JANJEVA

No.	Trades	Novobërda			Trepça			Janjeva			Total		
		Moslems	Christians	Total	Moslems	Christians	Total	Moslems	Christians	Total	Moslems	Christians	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Mining masters (ustadan)	9	—	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2. Coin-cutters	26	—	—	26	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3. Mining supervisor	7	—	—	7	—	—	—	3	—	3	—	—	3
4. Head of 8 -men — team	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5. Tailor	2	4	6	2	2	2	4	2	1	3	2	1	3
6. Miner	2	—	2	2	2	—	2	6	—	6	—	—	6
7. Peddlar	2	—	2	2	1	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	1
8. Wool-carder	2	—	2	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
9. Barber		—	2	2	—	—	—	—	1	1
10. Bootmaker		—	2	2	1	1	1	—	—	—
11. Hatmaker		1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
12. Town-crier		1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
13. Butcher		1	—	1	—	3	3	1	—	—
14. Haberdasher		1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
15. Coin control		1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
16. Soapmaker		1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
17. Farrier		1	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	—
18. Weightman		—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
19. Traderman		—	—	—	2	—	2	—	—	—
20. Shoemaker		—	—	—	—	2	2	—	5	5
21. Leather worker		—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	1
22. Shoeseller		—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	1
23. Silversmith		—	—	—	—	2	2	1	8	8
24. Worstedmaker		—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
25. Slippermaker		—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—
26. Nailsmith		—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
27. Leatherworker		—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
28. Bathkeeper		—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
29. Carpenter		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
30. Blacksmith		—	5	5	—	1	1	—	2	2
31. Potter		—	1	1	—	—	—	—	3	3
32. Grogshopkeeper		—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total		37	17	54	18	16	34	15	21	36

Despite the progress made by the handicrafts and trade the towns had not yet entered the sphere of goods production, and considerable part of their inhabitants still continued to be linked with agriculture. And these links were very strong. This is clearly seen from the records on the collecting of tithes of agricultural products, such as wheat, oat, rye, millet, flex, hay, vegetables, etc. from the town-dwellers. These tithes brought no small income to the ruling Ottoman class. This is shown in the table below.

No.	Towns	Incomes from tithes in akçe
1.	Prishtina	56 614 (26 800 from tithes on vineyards)
2.	Prizreni	22 194
3.	Peja	13 862 (10 240 akçe from tithes on vineyards)
4.	Vuçitern	8 825
5.	Janjeva	13 596 (12 000 akçe from tithes on vineyards)
6.	Trepça	2 070
7.	Novobërda	—

Although in the income from tithes an important place was occupied by the incomes from vineyards in the cities, which is a fact that shows that in those towns there was a developed viticulture as an expression of urban tradition, the above data indicate that the urban economy still preserved a semi-agrarian character, especially in Prishtina, Prizren, Vuçitern. The other cities, such as Novobërda, Trepça and, to some extent, Janjeva, since their population was engaged mainly in mining, had no agricultural economy. The income from tithes in those cities, was very small, as for example, in Trepça, or non-existent, as in Novobërda. Here, the Ottoman feudal class drew its main income from taxes on mining. In Novobërda they collected 33 730 akçe from tithes on melted silver and lead ores, in Trepça 117 666 akçe, in Janjeva 144 833 akçe. In Novobërda the income from tithes on minting was 1 595 176 akçe.

The ratio between handicrafts, trade and agriculture

No.	Strata of the urban population	Peja		Prizren		Prishtina		Vuciterna	
		Total	Against the no. of the house-holds (158) in per cent	Total	Against the number of the house-holds (557) in per cent	Total	Against the no. of the house-holds (506) in per cent	Total	Against the no. of house-holds (286) in per cent
1.	Tradesman	62	39	238	42,7	99	19,5	56	19,5
2.	Merchants, small merchants, tradesmen-merchants	6	3,8	5	0,9	8	1,5	3	1
3.	Clergymen, templesuper-visors	32	20,3	12	2	26	5	18	6
4.	Administration officials	3	1,8	8	1,5	22	4,3	7	2,4
5.	Feudal class	1	0,6	—	—	85	16,7	32	11
6.	Unidentified engaged in agriculture	51	32	270	48,4	199	39	124	43,3
7.	In possession of fields and orchards	—	—	11	1,9	56	12	32	11
8.	Orthodox clergymen	2	1,2	12	2	9	1,7	14	4,8
9.	Catholic clergymen	1	0,6	1	0,1	2	0,3	—	—

was reflected in the social structure of towns, as shown below.¹⁵

Handicraftsmen and traders made up the main urban stratum (43 per cent of the population of Peja and Prizren, and 21 per cent of the population of Prishtina and Vuçitern). The traders operating in the field of goods circulation were not clearly distinguishable from the producers, and not infrequently we come across handicraftsmen who are described as traders (see the cadastre book for Peja). The books provide no information about the inhabitants engaged in agriculture, as they do about the handicraftsmen, functionaries, etc. Nevertheless, it is certain that the agricultural production of towns came from inhabitants of unidentified profession, or garden-owners linked with the agricultural economy. They formed a social stratum representing 50-55 per cent of the population in Prizren, Prishtina, Vuçitern, and 32 per cent of that of Peja.¹⁶ This fact is clear evidence that the towns had in general a semi-agrarian character, that most of the population was not yet engaged in the sphere of goods production, and that if handicraftsmen or traders were not all engaged in agricultural work, members of their families, at least, tilled the land and took care of the cattle. There are data indicating that part of the inhabitants were engaged in animal husbandry. For example, there is mention of four cow-keepers in Trepça, and one shepherd in Janjeva.

At the head of these producers' strata was the urban nobility: feudal-lords, functionaries, representatives of Islamic religious institutions, administrators of Islamic religious property, militarymen, and Orthodox and Catholic clergymen. In the bigger administrative centres, like

15 We are giving only the social structure of the population of Peja, Prizren, Prishtina and Vuçitern, as that of Novobërda, Trepça and Janjeva was little engaged in agriculture.

16 We do not think that all of them were engaged in agriculture. There are no records about apprentices and some households are described as beggars or paupers.

Prishtina and Vuçitern, they accounted for 20 and 24 per cent of the population, in Peja 24 per cent (most of them Moslem clergymen), and in Prizren 5.6 per cent.

The population in the towns, like the population in the countryside, was subjected to feudal exploitation. The towns are included in large feudal estates called *hasse*. For instance, Peja, Prizren and Vuçitern were respectively parts of the *hasses* of the *mirlivas* of the sandjaks of Dukagjin, Prizren and Vuçitern, whereas Prishtina, Novobërda, Janjeva were parts of the Sultan's *hasses*.

Along with the economic and social progress, Islami- zation had made rapid inroads in the cities. In Peja, Prizren, Vuçitern and Prishtina taken together, about 65 per cent of the population was Islamized (a total of 1 006 Moslem households as against 547 Christian households).¹⁷ The population of Novobërda, Trepça and Janjeva was much less Islamized (up to 25 per cent; there were all in all 273 Moslem as against 828 Christian households).¹⁸ The Islamized towns had assumed Oriental features. Many mosques, after which the town quarters were named, were set up. There were mosques, Turkish baths, mesjids etc. in Peja, Vuçiterna, Novobërda, Prizren and Prishtina. The quarters had changed their former names and assumed new, Islamic, names. There was also a large number of Islamic clergymen.

The heavy taxes and the socio-economic discrimination against the Albanian Christian population, the

17 For each city, the ratio between the Islamized and Christian population was as follows: Peja — 143 Moslem and 15 Christian households; Prizren — 302 Moslem and 237 Christian households; Vuçitern — 228 Moslem and 58 Christian households; Prishtina — 307 Moslem and 199 Christian households. (From the number of the Christian households of Vuçitern and Prishtina we have deducted the number of gardens, 39 and 48, respectively).

18 Trepça had 92 Moslem and 533 Christian households; Janjeva — 41 Moslem and 247 Christian households; Novobërda — 138 Moslem and 228 Christian households.

recognition of a privileged socio-economic and political position to the Moslem as against the Christian handicraftsmen (the Christian handicraftsmen paid two important taxes: the *ajize* and *ispenaje*, in addition to those paid by their Moslem counterparts), the conversion to Islam as a condition for the Christian peasant handicraftsmen to be allowed to settle in the towns, etc. played an important role in the Islamization of the urban population. Eventually, the Ottoman state made all the trades the monopoly of Moslem handicraftsmen, as clearly seen in the fact that in the towns of Prizren, Prishtina, Peja and Vuçitern there was a total of 458 Moslem handicraftsmen as against 23 Christian handicraftsmen.

The Islamization of the population of these cities was a heavy blow not so much for the Catholic Church as for the Slav Orthodox Church. The population of Peja, where this church had its administrative see, was Islamized almost entirely. However, if this church had lost its positions in the main towns and most villages of the Dukagjin Plateau, it still held out in the villages of Kosova, where the majority of the Albanian population was of Orthodox religion and under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchy of Peja.



The cadastral books under examination, with their records of names of Moslem and christian households, provide a great number of personal names used in that time, which are extremely interesting for the study of questions of an ethnic character. They are a clear testimony to the existence, autochthony and numerical predominance of the Albanian population in the towns of the Plateau of Dukagjin and Kosova.

As is known, the cadastral books about the towns under discussion were studied for the first time by the Kosova scholar, M. Tërnavë, in a paper entitled, «The

Albanians in the towns of Kosova in the 15th-16th centuries»,¹⁹ a contribution of great scientific value, which clearly indicates the numerical predominance of the Albanian population in those towns. Below, we shall make a more detailed analysis of his data and, supplementing them with data from other sources, try to further support his scientific argumentation which proves that the population of those towns was almost entirely Albanian.

As was mentioned above, the majority of the population in those towns was Islamized. For each individual town, the ratio of Islamized households, as against the total of households, was as follows: Peja — 90 per cent, Vuçitern — 80 per cent, Prishtina — 37 per cent, Janjeva — 14 per cent. So, the process of Islamization went on at very rapid rates. There is not the slightest doubt that the Islamized population was Albanian. In many cases we find people converted to Islam who still retained as surnames the names of their Christian parents, or surnames characteristic of the Albanians, like *Ali Gjoci, Hysein Barda, Hasan Gjini, Ali Deda, Ferhat Reçi, Hasan Bardi, Iliaz Gaçja, Hëzër Koka* in Prizren; *Mustafa Gjergji, Ali, the son of Bardi, Ahmet, the son of Ali Deda, Rexhep Deda* in Vuçiterna; *Mahmud Deda, Veli Deda, Piri Deda, Memi, the son of Bushaka, Hasan Deda* in Prishtina; *Memi Deda, Pervin Deda, Rizvan Deda, Ali Deda, Haxhi Deda, Sheh Gjelani Deda, Ali Pjetri, Pir Mehmed Deda* in Peja, etc.²⁰

That this Moslem population was Albanian, there is also the fact that, for example, in the villages of the nahiyes of Peja, Altun-ilia (Gjakova), Rudina, Domeshtiç, Pashtrik (Has), Hoça and Opoja in the Dukagjin Plateau,

19 «Studime historike», no. 2, 1979, pp. 105-145.

20 For each Moslem household the cadaster books usually record the trade or position of their head in the state administration, the feudal or church hierarchy, or give only *Abdullah* — slave of god, for the new converts. Surnames are rarely recorded. Still, there are Albanian surnames among them.

where the process of Islamization was still under way, we find many Moslems who still retained their Albanian surnames during the second half of the 16th century.²¹ In these territories with an entirely Albanian population, the process of Islamization took place both in the villages and in the towns, with the difference that in the latter it developed at more rapid rates, because, along with the factors that brought about the Islamization of the peasant population, such as coercive economic and political measures, administrative-state and cultural-religious and other factors exerted a great influence there.

That the Moslem population of the cities was Albanian is also proved by later evidence, as that found in the reports of the Papal envoys who visited those territories in the beginning of the 17th century. About some cities they say explicitly that their Moslem population was of Albanian nationality. One of them, Pjetër Mazreku, in his report of 1623-1624, writes: «Prizren has 12 000 Turkish (Moslem — S.P.) souls, nearly all of them Albanian...; of this nationality only about 200 souls may be Catholic... There are also about 600 Serbian souls.»²² The archbishop of Tivar, Gjergj Bardhi, after a visit to the Dukagjin Plateau in 1638, had this to say about the districts of Gjakova and Prizren: «All these above-mentioned places are Albanian and speak that same language.»²³ Even the renowned Turkish traveller

21 S. Pulaha, *Economic and Demographic Data on the Region of Opolje (Opoja) in the Second Half of the 16th Century*, in «Historical Studies», no. 3, 1975, p. 102; *Economic and Demographic Data on the Region of Hoça — the Cadastral Registration of 1591*, in «Historical Studies», No. 1, 1976, pp. 138-139.

22 I. Zamputi, *Reports*, vol. 1, p. 337 (Starine, v. 39, p. 28). Pjetër Mazreku says the same thing about Shkup, «It is inhabited by Moslems, most of them of Albanian nationality, the others have come from Asia..., there are also Jews, Serbians and a minority of Greeks,» I. Zamputi, op. cit., p. 339.

23 According to this reporter, in 1638 Gjakova had 20 Christian households with 156 souls, 20 Orthodox and 320 Moslem

of the 17th century, Evliya Çelebi, speaking about the town of Vuçitern, which he visited, says that its inhabitants spoke Albanian, not Slavonic, whereas the official language was Turkish.²⁴ The Turkish geographer Hadji Kalfa says that Prizren is inhabited entirely by Albanians.²⁵

On many occasions, reports from the 17th century indicate that the adjective «Turkish» applies to Moslem Albanians. This is more evident when mention is made of the Islamized population of the villages. On the other hand, ethnic Turks are clearly distinguished in those records. So we have Bali the *Turk* and Ahmet the *Turk* in Prishtina, and Hasan the *Turk* in Janjeva, which shows that all the rest of the Moslem population was Albanian. This is also supported by the fact that the founders of many Islamic religious institutions such as mosques and, especially, *vakufs* in these towns were Albanian feudal-lords who had integrated themselves into the Ottoman ruling class by embracing the Moslem religion, such as Sinan Pasha, Mehmed Kukli Beg, Syzi Çelebi, etc.²⁶ As can be seen, Islamization did not bring about the cultural-

households; Prizren had 22 Christian households with 325 souls and 34 Orthodox households. Gjergj Bardhi did not record the number of Moslem households in Prizren; I Zamputi, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 99-101.

²⁴ Evliya Çelebi. *Putopis-odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama*, preveo, uvodi komentar napisao Hazim Sabanovic), Sarajevo 1973, p. 276; M. Tërnavë, *The Albanians in the Towns of Kosova...*, pp. 136-137.

²⁵ S. Novaković, *Hadži Kalfa Catib-čelebija, turski geograf 17. veka o Balkanskom poluostrvu*, Spomenik 18, Beograd 1892, p. 36

²⁶ TK. A. *Defteri mufassal liva-i Prizren*, no. 55, 1591, p. 35, 202; H. Kaleši-I. Redžeb, *Prizrenac Kukli beg i njegove zadužbine*, in *Prilozi za orientalni filologji* u 8-9, 1958-1959, pp. 149-151; I. Kaleši, *Veliki vezir Kodža Sinan paša njegove zadužbine i njegova vakufnama*. In «Albanological Researches», no. 2, 1965, pp. 134-142.

ethnic assimilation of the Albanian population, just as it did not turn Turkish the population of Bosna where the process of Islamization developed at more or less the same rates. It was Albanian and would remain such also in the following centuries, despite its change of religion.

The above data, while showing that the local Moslem population had been Albanian before the process of its Islamization took place, in the 15th century and in the first half of the 16th century,²⁷ refute the opinion of many foreign, especially Serb authors, who claim that the process of «Islamization» of the Slav elements in these territories has allegedly led to their «Albanization». Islamization, as an ideological means used by the Ottoman occupiers for the political-cultural assimilation of the Albanians, could not serve as a means for the alleged Albanization of the Slavs, because the Islamization imposed on the Albanians, who were themselves oppressed under the Ottoman yoke, broke their unity in the struggle for liberation and constituted a negative factor which not only favoured their cultural and ethnic assimilation, but also inhibited their socio-political and cultural development. It is preposterous to suppose that an oppressed people can impose the ideology of the oppressor and occupier on another people languishing under the same yoke, and, through it, assimilate them from the ethnic viewpoint. On the other hand, by identifying the position of the Albanian people who continued to offer stern armed resistance to the Ottoman occupation during the 15th-17th centuries with the Albanian feudal class which was an organic part of the Ottoman ruling class, by claiming that the Albanian people were allegedly in a privileged position under the Ottoman domination, as if they were not subject to the same oppression and exploitation under the Ottoman yoke, as every other people within the Ottoman Empire,

27 S. Pulaha, *Economic and Demographic Data on the Region of Opolje*... , pp. 106-108.

the authors of this thesis treat the problem under discussion from an idealistic methodological position, with the only aim of negating the autochthony of the population of these territories as the direct descendant of the former Illyrian population.

There can be no talk of the assimilation of the Slav population of these territories by the Albanians, because the objective and subjective conditions did not exist for such a process. The Albanians, like any other people in the Balkans, lived under the rule of the Ottoman occupiers and had to fight in self-defence to preserve their own existence as a people and nation. No more than the other Balkan peoples, the Albanian people in the Ottoman Empire were not in such a privileged position as to be able to carry out assimilation of another people through violence.

Along with the Islamized Albanians which constituted the majority of the population, in the towns mentioned there also lived Albanian Christians who are easily distinguishable by their Albanian names, or their Albanian names and surnames along with names of the Orthodox Slav or Byzantine religious sphere. It is evident that, in such historical conditions as the centuries-long rule of the Serb and, later, the Ottoman state, under which the Albanian population of those territories was obliged to live as a politically and socially oppressed element, Albanian personal names were carried only by the Albanian, not the Slav population. These personal names were widespread usually among Albanians of Catholic religion. So we have, for example, the entirely Albanian names: *Pal Koka*, *Doc Bushati*, *Lika Koka*, *Kola Ulku*, *Dida*, *Gjika Pepa*, *Gjon Doci*, *Pjetri Pepa*, *Pal Baci*, *Pal Deda*, *Doda Gjika*; or mixed Albanian-Slav names: *Ulkash Boshko*, *Jovan Kola*, *Pal Boshiqi*, *Jovan Doda*, *Stepa Poeça*, etc. Even in the cases when Albanian personal names are followed by surnames of the Slav anthroponymic sphere, we have to do with an Albanian population, always considering the fact that the autochthonous Albanians of these territories, under the religious

and political pressure of the Serb state and Church, were forced to take Slavic names, as soon as they were relieved from this pressure, turned immediately to the Albanian names of their grand-fathers and fore-fathers.

Nearly all 79 Christian heads of family of the four quarters of Prizren, Kodha or Kurila, Jazinxhi Sinani or Emin Mehmeti, Pandalja, Ajas or Izkuqan²⁸; about half of 84 heads of family and 8 bachelors of the Albanians' quarter of Janjeva;²⁹ 13 heads of family of the quarter Trepz and 22 heads of family of the quarter Mekisha

28 *In the quarter Kodha or Kurila*: Prend Puta, Jovan Puta, Peça, Stepa Peça, Doc Bushati, Nisha Bushati, Dimitri Davidi, Jovan Koka, Lika Koka, Gjini Golemi, Kola Ulku, Jovan Paci; *In the quarter Jazinxhi Sinani or Emin Mehmeti*: Mark Jovani, Doda Papa, Jovan Andrija, Kola Andrija, Nika Ulkashi, Pjetri Ulkashi, Pepa Maxheri, Papa Pepa, Pjetri Pepa, Gjika Pepa; Bajca Gjika, Deja Gjika, Peç Laçi, Koka, Gjika, Pepa Doçi, Gjon Doçi, Vuka, Ulkashi, Pjetri Rada, Jovan Pjetri, Ulkash Boshko, Boshq Pjetri;

In the quarter Pandalja: Jovan Kola, Stepa Doçi, Pepa Doçi. Pepa Kola, Andrija Papa, Pal Kola, Pal Baci, Jovan Lala, Gjika Deja, Jovan Gjika, Stepa Kola, Andrija Tusha, Andre Gjika, Bogdan Doçi, Jovan Kola, Pal Bozhqi, Prend Deda, Pal Stepa, Doda Doçi, Pal Deđa;

In the quarter Ajas or Izkuqan: Pjetri Kola, Andrija Kola, Dimitri Kola, Stepa Kola, Doda Gjika, Jovan Doda, Pjetri Lila, Jovan Doçi, Petra Dida, Prendi, Vojo Nikolla.

29 They are: Mark Dimitri, Prend Garunja, Stepa Frano, Mati, Nikolla Mati, Gjika Tode, Jova Jaku, Jova Mati, Luka Mirçeta, Andre Luka, Andrija Koka, Biba, Mati Stepa, Gjonko Kola, Pejo Andregjini, Palo Prela, Gjura Kola, Lika Prelshi, Gjec, Pal Ulka (Vela), Nika Ragami, Prend Shala, Pejo Koka, Lika Novaku. Prend Sharkuqi, Koka Dobroshti, Dida Rosi, Andrija Dushmani, Koka Mihilli, Nikolla Gurza, Laja Kolshi, Dida Stojini, Koja Hoça, Gjon Mena, Doda Sopa, Gora Mihilli, Prend Bushati, Andrija Murizi, Lale Mlika, Biba Mlika, Prend Koka, Doç Mlika, Gjon Zani.

(Meksah) in Trepça,³⁰ as well as 28 heads of family of different quarters of Novobërda, carried Albanian personal names.³¹ There are 188 such heads of family in the above-mentioned quarters alone, that is, about 17.5 per cent of the Christian heads of family (households) (in Prizren 33 per cent, in Janjeva 18 per cent, in Novobërda 12 per cent, Trepça 7 per cent). Besides, people with such names are also found in the other quarters of these towns, though in smaller number.

The Albanian population of the towns of the Dukagjin Plateau and Kosova, apart from people with names from the Islamic sphere or simply Albanian, was also comprised of many people with names from the Orthodox, Serbian or Byzantine sphere, people of Orthodox religion under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchy of Peja. Documents on Kosova in the 15th and 16th century prove that this was a common phenomenon there even before the Ottoman occupation, and more widespread than in the northern regions bordering the Shkodra Sandjak and the Dukagjin Plateau.

30 *In the quarter Trepz:* Marko Bardo, Koka Dejani, Pjetri, Nikolla Baci, Marko Nikolla, Jaku Nikolla, Pavl Mazreka, Vuka Mazreka Petro Bukmiri, Marko Bushati, Tusha, Luku Bushati, Pejo Koka.

In the quarter Mekisha: Nina Gjeci, Mati Vojini, Nikolla Mati, Mati Stepa, Per Bodini, Kola Pavli, Pavl Kolic, Pejo Gusha, Nikolla Gjoni, Koka Preshe, Nika Suma, Luka Deda, Koka Gjin Gashi, Pavël Koka, Vuka; Pejo Deda, Stojko Deda, Gjura Dedini, Pero Gjika, Marko Lika, Pera Prendi, Koka.

31 Pejo Mati, Pavl Koka; *in the quarter Sokraja:* Pejo Zoti, Luka Dadiq, Jovan Baci, Stepa Mati, Olivir Vuka; *in the quarter Protopop:* Vuka Marini, Pejo Kola, Stepa Marini, Luka Voglo; Nikolla Luka, Stojan Dimitri; *in the quarter Izlata:* Lika Izlatari, Pejo Marini, Pepa Xhoshi, Koka Xhoshi; *in the quarter Pop Simon:* Tanushi, Mati Tanushi Mati, Luka Nikolla; *in the quarter Çarshia:* Pejo Martini, Luka Gjoni; *in the quarter Pop Bozha:* Gika, Frani, Luka Nina, Pjetri Pavli; *in the quarter Vuka Mrkshiq:* Vuka Pjetri, Nikolla Vuka, etc.

As seen from the debtors' book of Mihail Lukarević, a merchant from Dubrovnik who stayed in Novobërda during the thirties of 15th century, there is a considerable number of people with Albanian names, which is evidence of the presence of an Albanian majority in this town prior to the Ottoman occupation.³² There were about 150 Albanian heads of family as masters or workers in the mines of Novobërda. Thus, along with people with purely Albanian names and surnames, we also find people with mixed Albanian-Slav names or with Albanian names with characteristic Serbian suffixes, such as: -ić, ović, etc. Such are, for example, Radoslav Gjonović (Radossau Gonouich), Ivan Gjonović (Juan Gonouich) Gjon Belaz (Bardhi) (Gon Belaz), Petar Gjonović (Petar Gonouich), Gjon Progonović (Gon Progonouich); Dmtar Bushatović (Dmtar Buxatouich), Radosav and Jakob Leshović (Radexau and Jachob Leschouich), Andre Gjonović (Andria Conouich), Petko Progonović (Petcho Progonouich), Radosav Zoto (Radossau Zoto), Gjuraq Zoto (Gurag Zoto), Gjin Zmerić (Gin Zmerich), Tanush Boganović (Tanus Bogdanouich), Nikolla Gjonković (Nikola Gonchouich).³³

Likewise, in the cadastre books of 1455 for the

32 S. Gashi, a scholar from Kosova, basing himself on this document and other Ragusine sources, proves the presence of the Albanians as an autochthonous population in Novobërda and in the regions of Gallap, Morava and the present-day Southern Serbia (territories from where the Albanians were expelled with force before the setting up of the Albanian League of Prizren) during the 14th century and the first half of the 15th century; see *The Existence of Albanians in the Region of Gallap, Morava and Southern Serbia in the First Half of the 15th Century (1411-1438) in the Light of Onomastic Materials*, in «Albanological Research», Philological Series, IV, Prishtina, pp. 103-119.

33 M. Dinić, *Iz Dubrovackog arhiva*, I, Belgrade 1957, M. Lukarević's Book, suprodna stane knjige, fol.: 1, 8, 10, 11, 12, 15, 17, 26, 27, 29, 33, 37, 39, 41, 42, 52.

villages of the regions of Vuçitern and Prishtina we find people with the following names: Todor, the son of Arbanas; Bogdan, his (Todor's) son; Radislav, the son of Todor; Branislav, the son of Arbanas (Kucica village); Bozhidar Balsha (Bresnica village); Radovan, the son of Gjon (Cikatovo village); Radislav, the son of Gjon and Bogdan, his son (Sivojevo villages); Branko, the son of Gjon; Radica, his (Branko's) brother; Gjoka, the son of Miloslav (Gornja Trepz village), etc.³⁴ Thus, Albanians had common Slav names, such as Radoslav, Branko, Petko, Bogdan, Radislav, Branislav, Bozhidar, Milosh, Miloslav, etc., both during the period prior to the Ottoman occupation and after it.

More significant data on the Slavization of Albanians' personal names figure in the defter (register) of the Vucitern Sandjak of 1566-1574. Thus, for example, nearly half of the inhabitants (84 heads of family and 8 bachelors) of the Albanians' quarter in Janjeva, although they were called Albanians (arbanas), carried not Albanian names, but Slav Orthodox names, like Pejo, Stepan, Jovan, Mlladen, Bozha, Raja, Stoja, etc., or mixed Albanian-Slav names, like Jova Jaku. Mati Stepa, Gjura Kola, Koka Dobroshi, Oida Stojini. Likewise, in Prizren we find town quarters with Albanian names, like Madhiq, with Catholic churches like that of Dimitri Puliti (Pulti), although the majority of their inhabitants have Slav names.

This same phenomenon is observed in many villages of Kosova, which, although in the cadaster books figure with the Slav plural of Albanian names derived from the heads of phratries, like Gjonofc (Gjinajt), Leshofc (Leshajt), Tanushofc (Tanushajt), which betrays their Albanian origin, are mostly inhabited by Orthodox Alba-

34 A. Handžić, *Nekoliko vijesti o arbanasima na Kosovu i Metohiji sredinom XV vijeka*, at the Symposium on Skanderbeg, Prishtina 1969, pp. 205-207.

nians with Slav names. We are listing below some of these cases:

Mirash village, in the nahiye of Morava: Raja Branko, Stepko Raja, Mati Raja, Jovan Radić, Jaku Pjetri, Radosav Stojani (bachelor), Nikolla Stepani, Velko Nikolla (bachelor), Jovan Petko, Petko Radić, Dimitri Oliviri, the garden of Boshić rented to Pejo Radić, the garden of Olivir rented to Pejo Radić, Raja Mihajlo, Bozha Jovani, the garden of Simon Bogdani rented to Bozha Jovani, Nikolla Dunić, the garden of Radoja rented to Donas, now rented to his son Nikolla, Pop Jovani from Malonović village, Nikolla Marko, Mati Prodani, Damjan Marko, the garden of Radoja rented to Dabzhiv, then rented to Ali Beg, spahi, now in the hands of Kurd, his son, the garden of Raja rented to Pop Nikolla, the garden of Nikolić Jurić rented to Kurd, the son of Ali Beg.³⁵

Gjinofc Kulla village, of the nahiye of Treboshnica: Pjetri Jovani, Toma Pjetri, Dane Pjetri (bachelor), Kostandin Nikolla, Toma Kostandin (bachelor), Dimitri Pjetri, Mati Pjetri, Novak Dimitri (bachelor), Boja Stepani, Novak Boja, Nikolla Novaku (bachelor), Stepan Novaku (bachelor), Nikolla Gjurić, Luka Nikolla, Nisha Nikolla, Luka Pop Jovani, Bozha Luka (bachelor), Simon Luka (bachelor), Danko Mihajlo, Doja Danko, the garden of Dimitri rented to the villagers, the garden of Kallogjer rented to the villagers, the garden of Pejo rented to the villagers.³⁶

Gjinofc village, of the nahiye of Morava: Stepko Jovani, Jovan Gjurko.³⁷

Leshofc village, of the nahiye of Kozminat: Gjura Dimitri, Stojan Gjura (bachelor), Petko Stepa.³⁸

Tanushofc village, of the nahiye of Kara Tonly: Dimjo Jovani, Radivoj Dimjo, Pjetri Dimjo (bachelor), Dabzhiv the poor, Dimitri Dabzhiv (bachelor), Stojan Pjetri,

35 TK. A., *The Defter of the Vuçitern Sandjak*, no. 124, p. 365.

36 Ibidem, p. 45.

37 Ibidem, p. 368.

38 Ibidem, p. 56

Jovan Rajini, Dimjo Gjorgja, Stepa Dimjo (bachelor), Nikolla Jovani, Radivoj Nikolla (bachelor), Radonja Bojini, Radivoj Gjorgja, Popgja Gjorgja (bachelor) Dobrivoj Radivoj (bachelor), Marko Gjorgja, Dimjo Gjorgja, Cvetko Gjorgja, Dimitri Cvetko (bachelor), Damjan Gjorgja, Pjetri Damjani (bachelor), Mahajla Gjorgja.³⁹

The same phenomenon is also observed in some Albanian villages on the northern regions of Kosova, such as, for example, Kurshumli and Nish, which had the adjectives *arbanas*, *arbanashka* added to the toponyms, which implies that they were in contact with Slav population. Their inhabitants had these names:

Arbanashka Petrila village, of the nahiye of Ostrolic: Lazar Marko, Raja Lazari (bachelor), Pejo Simoni, Pavl Pejo (bachelor), Vojo Peja (bachelor).⁴⁰

Arbanas village, of the nahiye of Treboshnica: Stojan Dajini, Dane Stojani, Marko Dajini, Mati Marko, Andrija Marko (bachelor), Dimsha Marko (bachelor), Luka Gjurko, Nikolla Luka, Pjetri Dimja, Stojan Pjetri (bachelor), Gjura Marko, Lazar Stepa, Pajo Nikolini, Gjura Pejash, the garden Lazar rented to Stojan Dajini, the garden of Nikolla rented to the villagers, the garden of Belosav rented to the villagers, the garden of Ali rented to the villagers, the garden of Dimitri rented to the villagers, the garden of Pjetri Bogosav.⁴¹

Arbanashka Brenica village, of the nahiye of Treboshnica: Vojo Pjetri, Dimja Pjetri (bachelor), Jovan Nikolla, Nikolla Jova (bachelor), Gjura Marko, Gjurini, Stepa Marko (bachelor), Pavl Jova, Jaku Dimitri, Nikolla Moise, Pejo Stojka.⁴²

The cadaster books show that the Orthodox Christian inhabitants of those towns had names which were not entirely typical of the Slav Orthodox sphere, but re-

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 380.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 59.

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 46.

⁴² Ibidem, p. 47.

presented a heterogenous mixture of purely Albanian or Catholic names with names from the Greek Byzantine sphere, which are in wide use among the Albanians to this day. For example, there are many names of the Catholic rather than the Orthodox sphere, which are used both by the Albanians and other peoples, such as: Lukë, Nikollë, Pjetër, David, Jak (for Jacob), Marin, Filip, Mati (for Matthew).

The Orthodox inhabitants of these cities frequently bore names characteristic of the Greek Byzantine Orthodox rather than the Slav Orthodox church. These names appear in the forms commonly used by the Albanians, like, for example, Ilia, Moisi, Dimitri, Damjan, Mihal, Komnen, etc.⁴³ There are also other clues of a linguistic character which indicate that we have to do here with an Albanian speaking population. We often come across names recorded with the *-i* ending of the definitive form of the Albanian, like *Pjetri* (Petri), *Dimitri* instead of the Slav forms *Petar*, *Dimitar*, *Dimitrije*. The personal name *Mati*, whether in the function of a name or surname, is not used in the Slavic forms *Matija*, *Matko*, *Mate*, *Matic*, etc.⁴⁴ From a comparison of the

43 Indeed, among Orthodox priests with typically Slav names, such as pop Cvetko, pop Manojolo, Pop Jovan (in Prizren), pop Bozhidar, pop Raja, pop Peja (in Janjeva); pop Cvetko (in Vuçitern), pop Stojan (in Prishtina), pop Milovan, pop Stepan (in Trepça), etc., we also find Orthodox priests with names characteristic of the sphere of the Catholic church, like pop Mati (in Janjeva), pop Pjetri (in Vuçitern), pop Jaku (in Trepça), pop Pjetri (in Novobërda), or of the sphere of the Byzantine Orthodox church, like pop Nikolla, pop Simoni, pop Moisi (in Prizren), pop Damjani, pop Nikolla (in Prishtina), pop Dimitri (in Trepça).

44 We find the Albanian declension also in Ottoman personal names or terms for example in the word *janissary*: when it is used to describe a person it is written with an *-i* at the end. There are also names in the short form of the Albanian, such as, for example, *Nikë* for *Nikolla*, *Vuka* for *Vuk*.

forms of names *Pjetri*, *Dimitri* and *Mati* of the heads of family of the Vuçitern Sandjak, which were also used in the sandjaks of Belgrade, Montenegro, Kystendil and Vidin, it emerges that these definite forms with post-positive article characteristic of the Albanian language, were used only in the territory of Kosova.⁴⁵ Among the heads of family here the number of surnames with suffixes characteristic of the Serbian, such as *-iç* *-evič*, *-in*, is very limited.

The data presented here about Slav personal names among Albanians lead us to the conclusion that the Slav names of the Orthodox inhabitants of the Kosova towns cannot serve as a criterion to determine their ethnic character because the Slav names were in use also among Albanians of Orthodox religion. Hence, there is nothing in common between the character of names and the nationality of their bearers, as foreign historians try to make out by simplifying facts and overlooking the historical conditions in which the Albanian population had been obliged to live. The fact that there was a Slav ruling class in the past accounts for the political and religious subjection of the Albanian population of these regions, at a time when the Albanian feudal class had not yet succeeded in creating its own unified feudal state and separate and autonomous church. This was the origin of the Slav influence on Albanian anthroponymy. Its Slav character, the result of the influence exerted by socio-political and religious factors, does not show the Slavization of the Albanian population, nor does it mean that we had to do with a Slav population.

With the establishment and strengthening of the new state administration of the Ottoman occupiers and, amongst others, the administration of the Ottoman occupiers and, amongst others, with the destruction of the state apparatus of the Serb feudal class and the loss of the dominant position of the Serb Church, there was

45 M. Tërnavá, *The Albanians in the Towns of Kosova...*, op. cit., pp. 129-130.

a reduction of Slav names among the Albanian population, especially that of the Orthodox religion, and an increase of Albanian and Islamic names, along with the spread of the Islamic religion. Abandoning the Orthodox religion for Islam, the Albanian population also renounced its names of Slav and Byzantine Orthodox origin and assumed Islamic as well as Albanian names. This phenomenon, which came about as a result of the new historical conditions created by the Ottoman rule, is clearly noticeable if the anthroponymy of the population of the 15th century is compared with that of the 16th century for the towns about which we possess two census records. The town of Peja is typical in our case.⁴⁶ According to the census of 1485, the majority of the inhabitants of Peja had Orthodox, Byzantine or Slav names with the exception of a few Albanian names or mixed Albanian-Slav names,⁴⁷ whereas according to the census of 1582, the majority of the inhabitants (90 per cent) had Islamic names with the exception of 15 Orthodox families, part of which still retained their Albanian names, like pop Nika, Stepan Pjaka, Pal Koka, etc.⁴⁸

Likewise, the Slav or Turkish-Islamic names of town

46 We possess no detailed records about the other towns since the beginning of the Ottoman occupation in the 15th century, so we cannot compare the personal names of their inhabitants.

47 Gjura, the son of Geg Pjetri, Pavël Arbanasi, Nikolla Arbanasi, Pjetri, the son of Gjon Nikolla Peçi Nikolla, the son of Pisos, and Gjon, his brothers, Stefani, the son of Gjergjash, Radashin Liku.

48. S. Pulaha, *The Albanian Element according to the Onomastics of the Regions of the Shkodra Sandjak in the Years 1485-1582*, in «Historical Studies», no 4, 1972, p. 175; *Economic and Demographic Data on the Region of Opolja...*, p. 107. In 1485 Peja had 33 Moslem households and 104 Christian households.

quarters cannot be brought as an argument to prove that their inhabitants were Serbian or Turkish. It is clear from the census books that with the Ottoman occupation most quarters changed names, assuming islamic names — names of feudals, kadis, muezzins, etc. Hence, place names changed under the influence of administrative, religious and cultural factors, and by no means as a result of immigration of Turkish ethnic elements. If we look at the names of Christian quarters inherited from the period of the Serbian occupation, we see that usually there are names of priests, feudal lords, churches or crafts. In this case, too, place names were only the result of the influence of political, cultural and religious factors, and cannot be taken as the absolute criterion to prove that their inhabitants were Slav.⁴⁹

Second, the fact that in Peja, Gjakova, Prizren, Vuçitern, and Prishtina the Moslem heads of family were in the majority (1006) and of 547 Christian heads of family about 217 had Albanian or Albanian-Slav names and only about 330 had names belonging to the Slav Orthodox or Greek Byzantine religious sphere, is clear evidence that those towns were inhabited almost entirely by Albanians. From the number of inhabitants with Slav names it ensues that the Slavs were in the minority against the Albanians. Less than 330 heads of family had Slav or Byzantine names, and even they must be considered as part of the Albanian population of Orthodox religion, like most inhabitants of the quarter Arbanas in Janjeva, or the quarter Madhiq in Prizren, etc. The Slav elements were more numerous in Prizren and Prishtina. The Slavic names of the Catholic inhabitants of the Quarter of the Latins (Catholics) lead to the presumption that there must have been a colony of Ragusine merchants in Prizren.

During the period under discussion, the Albanians constituted the majority of the population of Trepça,

49 Ibidem, p. 139.

Janjeva and Novobërda, too. In these towns there were 273 heads of family with Moslem names, 222 with Albanian names and 606 with Slav or Byzantine names.⁵⁰ However, in these towns the Slav element must have been larger than in Prizren or Prishtina. And this is understandable. The Slav colonization in these towns was larger, because, as big mining centres in the Middle Ages, they were of special interest to the Serbian State. Their population was comprised of Slav Orthodox elements as well as Catholic immigrants, such as for example, the Ragusine merchants in Janjeva, as seen from the documents of the period before the Ottoman occupation.⁵¹ Likewise, Trepça had more people with Croat Catholic and Serb Orthodox names. There were also remnants of the Germans who had come to work in the mines in the preceding centuries. Their influence is seen in the names derived from mining and other crafts, such as *shafar*, *hutman*, *shuster*, *shnajder*, etc., which appear frequently in cadastre books.

50 Even in the 17th century the Albanians constituted the majority in these three towns. According to reports from the archbishop of Tivar, Gjergj Bardhi, in the years 1638 and 1642 the number of Slav Orthodox households was smaller than that of Moslem and Catholic households. The ratio was as follows:

Towns	Moslem households		Catholic households		Schismatic households		Total	
	1638	1642	1638	1642	1638	1642	1638	1642
1. Trepça	20	100	25	30	80	40	125	170
2. Novobërda	120	120	35	80	80	50	235	250
3. Janjeva	120	120	85	85	140	180	345	385

See I. Zamputi, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 171, 173, 175, 255, 261, 263, 265 (the Archive of Propaganda Fide in Rome, fund of Visite e Collegie, vol. 18, pp. 232-234, vol. 21; pp. 49-52). From the reduction of the number of households and the relatives' testimonies it emerges clearly that in the 17th century these cities were in decline.

51 See also S. Gashi, op. cit., p. 113.

The existence of Slav minorities in the towns of the Dukagjin Plateau and Kosova is due not only to their geographic proximity with the Serb territories, but also to the fact that under the Serb rule, which lasted from the 12th to the 15th century, they were administrative and religious centres and as such more subject to Serb colonization. It is obvious that the towns attracted more of the Serb colonists and representatives of the Serbian feudal ruling class.

However, from these books it comes out that if in these towns there was Serb colonization during the period when they were included within the borders of the Serbian state of Rasa, they appear as being inhabited entirely by Albanians in the 16th century, a century before the so-called Serb emigration from Kosova in the end of the 17th century, according to Yugoslav historiography. Moreover, there is no mention of Serb minorities in the villages of Kosova.

Besides, it is possible that among the Moslem population there might have been some Turkish elements, representatives of the state administration, or Islamized Slavs, usually people from Bosnia, with whom we shall deal in the following pages. The Vallachian element is almost totally non-existent in the towns.

That the population of the towns under discussion was almost entirely Albanian is also proved by later data, the documents from the Command of the Austrian Army that entered Kosova and the Dukagjin Plateau (in 1690) during the Austro-Turkish War of 1683-1699. They indicate that Prizren was the capital of Albania and that Peja belonged to Albania. The emperor of Austria, Leopold I, said that his armies were fighting in Albania (when they entered Kosova).⁵² In the beginning of November 1689, the Austrian forces, according to the same

⁵² Haus-Hof und Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Feldakten 1689, Fsz. 167, 13, 1; (Annotationes und Reflexiones no. 5), Bogen 4a,

documents, were met by 5 000 Albanian insurgents in Prishtina and 6 000 others in Prizren, which shows that not only those towns but the whole of the region was inhabited by an Albanian population.⁵³

Although the documents are fragmentary and do not give a complete picture of the condition of the Albanian population in those territories in the period before the Ottoman occupation, the cadastre books of the 15th and 16th centuries, while showing that the population of these territories was mainly Albanian, also prove that this population lived there also in the period of Serbian occupation, as the direct descendants of the former Illyrian population. It was an autochthonous, not immigrated, population. This is also supported by the fact that the known historical sources mention no movements of the Albanian population from the internal territories of Albania, like Mirdita, Dukagjin and the Shkodra Highlands to Kosova, movements which, had they occurred, ought to have brought profound ethnic changes. On the contrary, the documents show that there was absolutely no possibility for such movements in the period between the 15th and the 16th centuries. Thus, for example, according to the last census, between the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, the population in the mountainous areas was very small, with the central mountain regions of the Dukagjin Sandjak, such as Iballa, Spasi, Fandi i Madh, Fandi i Vogël and Puka, having only 79 villages with 1 293 households in 1529 and 81 villages with 1 592 households in 1591, and the mountainous territories of the Shkodra Sandjak (Pjetër Spani and Kelmendi), having only 32 villages

20-20a, 32a 33, 35-35a, 36-36a, 62; H. Gerba, *Die Kaiserlichen in Albanien 1689*; in *Mittelilungen des K.K. Kriegs-Archiv*, Wien 1888, p. 136, 148; 240; M. Kostic, *Zavrsni bilans polemike o srpsko-arbanaskom ustanaku protiv turaka iz austrijski vojsku 1689/90*, Belgrade 1962, pp. 3-5,8

53 H. Gerda, *Die Kaiserlichen in Albanien 1689*, pp. 136-148.

with 485 households in 1485.⁵⁴ Thus, the population of the Highlands in the beginning of the Ottoman occupation (2 014 households in 1529), was much smaller as compared with the number of households of other regions, for example, in 1455. In that same time Vuçitern had 3267 households, Morava 3152, Labi 4092, Prishtina 1375,⁵⁵ Peja 4196, Suhogërla 949, Plava 1085 (1485)⁵⁶. The total of the households (2014) of the Highlands of Northern Albania included in the Sandjaks of Shkodra and Dukagjin accounted for only 1/7 of the households (14 782) of the Sandjak of Vuçitern in 1455, or about 1/2 of the households of the nahiye of Peja. Hence, even if we suppose a movement involving the whole population of the Highlands, which is impossible, the ethnic character of the population of Kosova could not have changed, could not have turned it from Serbian to Albanian. On the other hand, the fact that there was an increase in the number of households during the 17th and 18th centuries in the Highlands in comparison with their number in the 15th and 16th centuries, also shows that there was no possibility for considerable movements of population to the neighbouring territories.

The cadastre books prove that the autochthonous Albanian population of the towns of Kosova was stable, whereas the Serb minority was constantly on the move. About migrating heads of family the registers usually have such notes as *prishlac*, *doshlac* — immigrant, or *haymanegan* — emigrant. If we look at the names of these heads of family, we see that of 158 immigrant heads

54 We possess no information of the Highlands in the 15th century.

55 We have produced these figures by adding the number of households of each village according to the regions in the register of Vikičia of the year 1455. See H. Hanžibegić, A. Handžić, E. Kovačević, *Oblast Brankovica*, Sarajevo 1972.

56 S. Pulaha, *The Albanian Element According to Onomastics...*, in «Historical Studies», 1972, no. 1, p. 68, no. 2, pp. 182-197.

of family, 25 had Albanian names and 133 Slavic names.⁵⁷ Besides, 7 heads of family (3 with Albanian names and 4 with Slavic names) who had come from the region of Shkodra, 10 with Albanian names established in Janjeva and 6 with Slav names settled in Prizren, are also described as immigrants. Hence, the immigrants had mainly Slav names.

It is evident that these had not come from the internal territories of Northern Albania, because as such they ought to have retained their Albanian names as all the inhabitants of the regions included in the Sandjaks of Shkodra and Dukagjin did, which the registers of the 15th and 16th centuries show very clearly. So, most of them were Slav ethnic elements, although the possibility of the existence of Albanians among them is not excluded.

As for the heads of family described as immigrants it is difficult to see whether they have moved from the countryside to the town, or from town to town, within the sandjaks of Vuçitern and Prizren, or have come from other sandjaks, since in the majority of cases the registers have not recorded the place they have come from. It is highly probable that most of them have come from the villages of these same sandjaks, as it results in many

57 For each town the situation was as follows:

No.	Towns	Heads of family with Albanian names	Heads of family with Slav names
1.	Peja	—	—
2.	Prizren	6	36
3.	Prishtina	5	16
4.	Novobërda	2	13
5.	Trepça	4	38
6.	Vuçiterna	—	—
7.	Janjeva	8	30
Total		25	133

cases.⁵⁸ However, there are records that indicate that these towns comprised also Slav elements from Slav territories to the north of the sandjaks in question, for example, Mihail, Petar and Milko had come to Trepça from Bosnia, Komnin from Budimila, Nikolla Stojan and Dimitri Rodacan from Zvernik, Vudiq Jova from Novipazar. There were also Serbians (sirbin) — Nikolla and Raja. In Trepça there was a certain Pejo Bosnak, and in Vuçitern a certain Nasuch Bosnev and Mahmud Bosnev, who, as one can infer from their surname, must have been from Bosnia.

In Janjeva we find a Jocan Kratovac, understandably from Kratova.⁵⁹ Hence, the Slavs had migrated from their northern territories to Kosova and the Dukagjin Plateau, especially to the cities of Trepça, Janjeva, Prizren⁶⁰.

The large number of heads of family with Slav names who are described as *prislac* and *doslac* in the census of the years 1455 and 1485⁶¹ clearly indicates

58 Eg. Stojko from the village of Denica of Prizren (fol. 16a); Pejo Grinçar from the village of Sharronja, Milosh from the village of Resnik, Marko from the village of Medveçe, Vojo from Prishtina, pop Bogdan from the village of Prush, etc., had moved to Janjeva (fol. 95b-96b). Dane Stepa from the village of Gjelgjan, Raja Vojin from the village of Orshova, Cvetko from the village of Krestova had moved to Trepça (fol. 113a, 114a), Cvetko Stepan from the village of Zagradina Hoça had moved to Prizren, etc. (fol. 15b).

59 See the register of the Vuçitern Sandjak, fol. 112b-114b, 229a 95a.

60 The few movements of the Albanians took place within the territories of the Dukagjin Plateau and Kosova, with the exception of 7 heads of family coming from the region of Shkodra to Peja and 2 heads of family (Andrea and Tusha) coming from the region of Pjetër Span to Prizren (See the register of the Shkodra Sandjak, fol. 143b and that of the Prizren Sandjak, fol. 16a).

61 According to calculations made by M. Tërnavë, the Vëllk Vilayet (lands previously under the domination of the Branković which were included in the Vuçitern Sandjak in the 16th

that the Slav element was unstable and kept moving not only within the regions we are speaking about but also northwards, to the Slav territories, and southwards, to the Albanian territories. This was due to the fact that the Slavs, never large in numbers, were not autochthonous, but had come there as colonizers and as a stratum of feudal officials during the centuries of the Serbian occupation of these regions.

The information we presented refutes the anti-Albanian and unscientific views of certain foreign historians who describe the Albanian population of Kosova as having allegedly come from the Albanian hinterland by the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, after the Austro-Turkish War (1683-1690), when part of the Slav Orthodox population which sided with the Austrians moved northwards with the retreating Austrian army. This view, which found ample place in the works of a number of Yugoslav bourgeois historians with J. Cvijić as their main representative,⁶² and served in the past as a «historical argument» for the aggressive policy of the Great-Serb bourgeoisie towards the Albanian territories, is still apparent in modern Yugoslav historiography, as seen in the works of A. Urošević, M. Filipović, J. Trifunovski,⁶³ and even in the official text «The History of the Peoples of Yugoslavia», in which

century) had more than 679 heads of family in 1455 described as immigrants. See *Immigrations to the Present-day Territory of Kosova during the 14th-16th Centuries*, «Kosova», no. 5, Prishtina 1978, p. 295.

62 J. Čvijić, *Osnove za geografiju i geologiju Makedonije i Stare Srbije*, Posebna izdanja SA, I, 1906, XVII, II, 107, XVIII, III, 1911.

63 A. Urošević, *Kosovo*, Beograd 1965; M. Filipović, *Etničke prilike u Južnoj Srbiji*, Skoplje 1937; *Has Pod Pastrikom*, Sarajevo 1958; J. Trifunovski, *Kačanicka klisura*, Srbski etnografski zbornik, SAN, knjiga 32, Beograd 1950, etc.

the part dealing with Kosova is written by V. Čubrilo⁶⁴, one of the inspirers of the genocide perpetrated against the Albanians in Kosova. The data of the cadastre books as well the census registers of the Ottoman administration of the 15th-16th centuries recently published, while proving that this view does not respond to the historical truth, also show that the Serb historians did not deal with documents in an objective and scientific manner and totally disregarded the historical conditions of the period in question.

⁶⁴ *Istorija naroda Jugoslavije*, knjiga 2, Beograd 1960, p, 770, 790, 801.

MUHAMET TERNAVA

Prishtina

MIGRATIONS TO THE PRESENT-DAY TERRITORY OF KOSOVA DURING THE 14th-16th CENTURIES*

The written sources¹ say that there were migrations of population within the Serbian state of the Middle Ages, which included the present-day territory of Kosova. Thus, for instance, in Church diplomas or charters² of Nemanija, we come across provisions against the movement of the peasantry.³ The movement of population of that time is also proved by the fact that during the 14th-15th centuries, villages old and new, were often abandoned and instead of them new settlements were founded. Written sources speak of peasants changing

* Extracted from «Kosova», v. Prishtina 1976, pp. 289-325.

1 Milenko S. Filipović, *Etničke prilike u Južnoj Srbiji*, Skoplje 1937, p. 402.

2 The charters (povelje) are written documents of a juridical character, but which bear such characteristics which vary according to the place, time and the juridical event.

3 *Historija naroda Jugoslavije*, I, p. 418.

village or settlement, and of feudal lords, estate owners, changing the population of their holdings. Meanwhile, the right of settlement on free lands⁴ was in vigour until the time of the Emperor Dušan. Later, only those that had a permission could be accepted in the feuds and feudal estates. Likewise, the *merops*⁵ (peasants) that fled from the feud were punished severely.

When we speak of the migration of the population within the present-day territory of Kosova in the 14th century, we should bear in mind that this process could be studied as thoroughly as possible, if it is compared with the development of those settlements that in the Cirilik mediaeval documents are known as «selišta». These settlements have been studied by Stojan Novaković,⁶ and recently the historian Rade Mihajlčić.⁷ It should be pointed out that not only the «selišta» but all the desert settlements, the names of which ended in *-ista*,⁸ were considered abandoned settlements. Hence, *katunishtet*, which represented the shepherds' settlements, the so-called «*gradishta*», which, according to K. Jireček, were the Roman castelas,⁹ as well as «*crkvišta*», «*kucišta*», «*trgovišta*», etc., were included in this kind of settlement. All this group testifies to the movement of population and the abandonment of settlements, although these, as well as the so-called «selišta», were not always deserted settlements.¹⁰

The well-known scholar R. Mihajlčić who studied the settlements mentioned in the documents as «selišta», observed that at the time of the expansion of the Serbian state towards the south, the population also moved more

4 Ibidem.

5 *Peasants*, Zagreb, MCMLIII.

6 S. Novaković, *Selo* (SKZ, knj. 301), Beograd 1943.

7 R. Mihajlčić, *Selišta*, Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta, knj. IX-I, Beograd 1967, pp. 171-224.

8 Ibidem, pp. 183-184.

9 K. Jireček, *Istoriја Srba* II, Beograd 1952, p. 148.

10 R. Mihajlčić, op. cit., pp. 183-184.

or less in that direction¹¹. From this observation we judge that in the 14th century and the first half of the 15th century there were all possibilities that Serbian elements had come to the present territory of Kosova. According to the aforementioned author (R. Mihaljčić) the penetration and invasion of the Turks changed the direction of the migrations from south to north. In connection with this, we think that there is some exaggeration on the direction of the migrations. However, the abandoned settlement, in the first place, the so-called «selišta» in the occupied territories, were not only a result of war devastations. The war has been exaggerated in the existing literature as the cause of the migration of population, although without doubt it is one of its factors. «Wars or the threat of wars have influenced also one aspect of this phenomenon», i.e., the foreign colonization. It is very difficult to define the nature of the foreign colonization in the Middle Ages in an unstable territory (Mediaeval Serbia). Difficulties are presented by the ethnical structure of the population of the mediaeval Serbian state and the ethnical diversity in the territory in which the ambitions of the Nemanians were realized. Having these limitations in mind we cannot say anything definite about the foreign colonization. Even greater difficulties are presented by the movement not only of shepherds, but also of the farmers. The invasions especially during the rule of Nemanija, have influenced the withdrawal of the migratory population. Most of the abandoned settlements are on the critical zone where the political relations of the last Nemanians and the Byzantine Empire were tense. After the invasions, the Serbian population moved southwards. The abandoned settlements were peopled either with people from the old Serbian regions, with a high natural growth of the population, or with those coming from «foreign regions». There are data on the organized populating of «selišta» which were

11 Ibidem, p. 201.

always «potential villages»¹², before and immediately after the invasions.

Apart from other things, the efforts of the feudal lords to turn the free peasants into dependent peasants were aided by the fact that the peasants were bound to the feud, to the land they tilled. The Diploma of Nemanja given to Hilandar in 1198-99 stipulates that the run-away peasants be turned to the monastery, the zupan or the feud from which they had escaped.¹³ King Stefan Dečan in his chrysobull¹⁴ of the year 1326, by means of which he donates some villages and grants some privileges to the Prizren bishopric at Leviša, writes among other things: «...I (pto je) pridalo kraljevstvu mi nan roditel kraljevstva mi ludije ko i se su predje razišli da se povračaju svako na svoje mjesto a nitko da ih ne podrzo ni vlastelin ni crkve ni samo kraljevstvo mi».¹⁵ The seniority right did not include the Altinas who belonged to the Monastery of Dečan: «The Altinas must abide by their old law and wherever they are (the Altinas) they shall not enjoy the right of seniority and cannot go freely to the church «garden»».¹⁶

The diplomatic and other sources on the history of the mediaeval Serbian state, as well as the existing scientific works on the question allow us to observe that the serfs mainly abandoned the secular feuds rather

12 Ibidem.

13 Ibidem, p. 197.

14 The chrysobulls are a kind of diploma, chart, act of donation which were used in the Middle Ages and which were held in public trust. They were distinguished from the other kinds of charts because they were stamped with a golden seal.

15 I. Jastrebov, *Hrisovulja dečanskog kralja od godine 1326*, Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva, knj. XLIX, Beograd 1881, p. 365.

16 S. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici srpskih država srednjega veka*, Beograd 1912, p. 655.

than church feuds, which means that they abandoned the secular feuds for the church feuds. A typical example of this is the case of the church feud of the Monastery of Gracanica where the peasants who had settled there were brought to trial in the time of bishop Ignat; on that occasion several peasants who had abandoned their feuds were expelled from this place. But the trial did not stop there. Seeing that the demands to have the run-away peasants back increased, King Milutin stopped the trial and pardoned all the peasants who had come to that feud from other places and granted them the right to stay there permanently.¹⁷ In the Dušan Code there is a provision according to which «the people who live in villages and church villages must be returned to their feudal lords»¹⁸. Hence «the information of the Diploma of Gracanica and article 22 of the Dušan Code prove that when the mediaeval Serbian state was at its highest, migrations of the serfs were directed to the church feuds rather than secular ones...» «This was entirely a result of unequal dues in the church feuds and the secular feuds.»¹⁹ In other words the dues of the peasantry in the church feuds were probably smaller.

Therefore, keeping in mind that the greater part of the present territory of Kosova in the 14th century and the first half of the 15th century was included in church feuds (the feud of Gracanica, Banjska, Dečan and Arhangjel), we may observe that in those conditions and in the spirit of the Diploma of Gracanica and article 22 of the Dušan Code, it is normal to accept the opinion that there were more immigrant than emigrant peasants in the main part of the mentioned territory. All this immigrant element must have come from the nearby territories of Kosova, though it is possible that among them there

17 Ibidem, R. Mihaljčić, op. cit. p. 188.

18 S. Novaković, *Zakonik Stefan Dušana cara srpskog 1349*, Beograd 1898, 24-25.

19 R. Mihaljčić, op. cit., p. 188.

were also immigrants from the internal part of that territory. So, these immigrants represented a kind of foreign colonization of that territory. This opinion must be accepted in the light of the fact that in 1455, when the state of the Ottoman Turks was established in the present territory of Kosova, in the register book²⁰ of that territory, or the Vëllk vilajet, as it was called that year, many heads of families are described as immigrants (*prišlic*, *došlac*, *priselica*). Nearly all the immigrants, figuring in the register book of 1455, had come or moved from one settlement to the other within that territory at the time of the existence of the Serbian rule in the present territory of Kosova. Since the Ottoman administration records put them as *doshllak*, *prishlic*, *uselica*, it is understandable that they were distinguished from the local people before the Turks came. Special books were kept for that part of the population which moved in the framework of the church feuds of the time of mediaeval Serbia, so that it was known who were the peasants who made up the migrant element. This was done mainly because of the unequal system of dues in different feuds, especially because of the difference which existed between the obligations of the peasants in the secular feuds and the church feuds.

When speaking of the migrations of the population within the present territory of Kosova in the 14th and 15th century we should not forget the fact that at the time of mediaeval Serbian state there were cases when the dependent peasants left the lowland areas for the mountains. This becomes clear also on the basis of the dispositions of the chrysobulls of Banjska and Dečan. In the Banjska chrysobull we find: «Srbin da se na zeni u vlasen»,²¹

20 Hamid Hadžibegjć, *Oblast Branković* Opširni katastarski popis vijaleta VII k iz 1455 g. dr. Jushler, Sarajevo 1972, pp. 1-347.

21 See the publication of this diploma in the magazine «Spomenik IV», Bgd. isti.

whereas in the Dečan chrysobull: «Srbin sa se ženi u vlaseh. Ako se oženi da je vodi u merophe»²² which is also repeated in the second chrysobull of the Dečan monastery in a milder form.²³

The departure of the dependent peasant from secular feuds to church feuds especially the desire of farmers to turn to livestock raising, illustrates the influence of the social-economic relations on the movements of the peasant population and the abandonment of their settlements.

According to R. Mihajlić the dependent peasants not only left one feud for another, but also migrated to the neighbouring states.²⁴ However, the examples this scholar brings in connection with this have nothing to do with the present territory of Kosova. This does not mean that there were no such cases in Kosova even though the written sources do not mention any. There were occasions of the penetration of foreigners into mediaeval Serbia, and in the present territory of Kosova, too. Thus, for example, «the Greek Orthodox Bogdanović and his son Vlado» were inhabitants of the village of Ločan which belonged to the Dečan feud.²⁵

The Dušan Code shows that there were cases of migrations from the countryside to town a thing which can be clearly seen in article 40: «Takoder i trgovci i knezovi i po gradovima cijag čovek prime istim načinom da se kazne i izdedu». The migration from countryside to town characterized the period of developed feudalism. The freedom in the towns attracted the poor peasantry with the result that the towns absorbed the surplus of the peasant population. In the meantime the development of mining in the present territory of Kosova, caused the rapid development of several towns such as of Novobërda, Janj-

22 M. Milojević, *Dečanske hrisovulje*, Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva, XII, Beograd 1880, p. 62.

23 R. Mihajlić, op. cit., p. 188.

24 Ibidem, p. 140.

25 M. Milojević, *Dečanske hrisovulje*, p. 70.

eva, Trepça, and Prishtina. This caused a population flux from countryside to town. The above-mentioned article of the Dušan Code inhibits the immigration of the dependent peasants, stressing that the inhibition covers all towns and market towns.

The colonization of the Wallachians, the Vonjuks and the Juruks or some other ethnos by the Turks on the present territory of Kosova, was not carried out at the beginning of the Turkish occupation. This is understandable, because as B. Harabak stresses, the Turks had no difficulty in occupying that territory in which they had their garrisons since the last years of the 14th century.²⁶ Hence, as it was under Turkish rule it is possible that this influenced the fact that there were no mass displacement of the population there.

The first Turkish census of the territory of the Brankoviće in 1455 is also important because part of the heads of the families figuring in the registers appear as immigrants (prišlić, priselica, došlak etc.).

Of all the personal names of the territory of the Brankoviće in 1455 which are defined as immigrants (679 heads of families), none are of an Albanian origin. Among the 679 heads of families described as immigrants, Slavonic personal names predominate. It is an interesting fact that in this list of those described as immigrants there are no Albanian anthroponyms, at a time when it is known that amongst the inhabitants registered in that book there appear characteristic Albanian names and their number is not so small as to escape notice. This situation could not have been the result of a chance combination in the anthroponymy of the population of that territory, but of the real existing situation in 1455, when the Serbian rule there came to an end and the Turkish rule

²⁶ B. Hrabak, *Poljoprivredna proizvodnja Kosova i susednih krajeva sredinom XV veka*, Glas. CCLXL, SAN, Beograd 1974, p. 36.

was definitively established. Apparently, the part of Albanians of that territory, who figure in this register of 1455 with characteristic Albanian names such as Gjon, Gjin etc., did not belong to the migrant element. On the contrary it belonged to the stable, local element. Hence, as these immigrants were not a result of the Turkish occupations then that part of the Albanians could not belong to the immigrant population in the beginning of the Turkish invasion. The Albanian element was not included among the immigrants, or among the migrating elements, although we know nothing whether the elements characterized as immigrants had shifted from one settlement to the other within the territory of the Brankovićs or from some other nearby territory, i.e., the present territory of Kosova. If it is true that the migrations were limited within the present territory of Kosova, the question may be asked, why was there no head of family among them with a characteristic Albanian name, when it is known that there were a considerable number of them at that time? The most acceptable opinion appears to be that these immigrants represented, from the numerical point of view, less heads of families who moved from one settlement to the other within this territory, and, again from the numerical point of view, more of those who came from the surrounding Serbian territories. Judging from the fact that the Vëllk vilajet included a total of 646 inhabited villages and 679 heads of families were described as immigrants, it results that on an average each village of this vilajet had something more than one immigrant head of family.

As far as the number of heads of families described as immigrants per *nahije* (small region) is concerned, we may say that the Tergovishta province had 6 villages and 2 immigrant heads of families; the Kllopotnik *nahije* has 43 villages and 73 immigrant heads of families; the Dolçi *nahije* 17 villages and 25 immigrant heads of families; the Morava *nahije* 123 villages and 190 immigrant heads of families; the Topollnica *nahije* 76 villages and 25

immigrant heads of families; the vilajet of Prishtina, 46 villages and 52 immigrant heads of families and the Llab *nahije* had 219 villages and 212 immigrant heads of families. From this it emerges that, on account of the number of habitations and heads of families described as immigrants, the majority of such heads of families were in the following *nahijes*: Morava, Vuçitern, and Llab. The province which had the least number of immigrant heads of families was that of Topolnica. It included Novobërda and its surroundings, which was mainly a hilly mountainous zone, and had 43 settlements and 23 immigrant heads of families. This thing, apparently allows us to think that the migrating element mainly came from the mountainous-hilly regions to settle in the lowlands and valleys. In support of this opinion is the fact that most of the heads of families described as immigrants are to be found in the *nahijes* of Morava, Vuçitern, and Llab which are lowland areas.

Apart from this, in the register book of the Vëllk vilajet of 1455 there are 42 abandoned villages which, nevertheless, were included in the tax system. According to the opinion of the publishers of this register, «the cause of the existence of such a number of abandoned villages should be sought in the military operations which were carried out on this territory during 1453»²⁷. In connection with this we think that the main cause of the existence of the abandoned settlements was the pre-Turkish situation, i.e., the socio-economic conditions of the pre-Turkish period and especially of the decades before the Ottoman invasions.

A considerable number of unidentified settlements speaks in favour of the idea that on the present territory of Kosova there were migrations of the population on the eve of the Ottoman invasion. These movements, as in the other regions, were caused by socio-economic factors and changes which had been carried out before

²⁷ *Oblast Brankoviča*, p. XVIII.

and after the establishment of the Ottoman rule. The establishment of the Ottoman rule, the long existence of that rule and the influence of different factors of a socio-economic nature caused migrations of the population which in most cases were of the type of permanent migrations. As a result of those migrations not only at the time of the existence of the Serbian rule, but also the Ottoman rule, a number of villages was abandoned. While the number of villages diminished, because some of them ceased to exist as such, there was a parallel process of the regeneration of the abandoned settlements or of the replenishing of the villages whose inhabitants had migrated, and the formation of new settlements with new names of the territories or settlements.²⁸

When the Turks came to the present territory of Kosova, they brought with them not only Turks in the ethnical meaning, the number of whom never was great, but also groups of other peoples who were under Ottoman rule at that time. Thus, in 1455, when the Ottoman rule was finally established on the aforementioned territory amongst the *ulfexhis*²⁹ of the Novobërda fortress, apart from ethnical elements of the pre-Turkish period such as Serb, Albanians and Wallachians, there were other elements belonging to other ethnoses.³⁰ The following are the names of all the *ulfexhis* serving in the fortress in question: Shain Ungurus, Salih Edrine, Karaxhoz Qehaja, Atmaxha Maser, Karanxha Ungurus, Atmaxha Bosna, Jusuf Mehter, Hizir Kostandinija, Jakub Kostandinija, Timurtash Arnaut, Hamza Bosna, Hamza Vranje, Sunkur Siruzija, Jusuf Vize, Sunkur Ungurus, Dogan Sehi Kōjlja, Saruxha Eflak, Ali Mehter, Karaxhozi from Ternova, Davud Siyah (the black), Shirmend Siruzija, Shahin Belgradija, Atmaxha Vardarija, Jusuf Burekxhija, Ali

28 Ibidem XIX.

29 Ulufeci (Ulufexhi) — mercenary military cavalry.

30 Oblast Brankoviča, p. 209.

Nikopoljaac, Ali Tatar, Dogan Eflak, Jusuf Janbolija, Ilbeg Sokolar, Karanxha Kösece, Jusuf Streljar, Shahin Arnaut, Hamza Portir, Hizir Yapidlik, Hamza Mullixhi, Simerd Janbilja, Sulejman Gâv, Hamza Mehter, Jusuf Puljad, Dogan Arnaut, Ismail Eflak, Ali Edirne, Musa Laz, Tirmuhan Kostandinija, Hamza Gâv, Ajas Srf, Shahin Zagra, Shahin Kostandinija, Mustafa Sarigolija, Shimerd Kostandinija.³¹

A similar situation is also seen for the janissaries of that fortress: Saruxha Siruzija, Shahin Arnaut, Ali Qehaja, Jusuf Laz, Sulejman Kostandinija, Mustafa Skopljak, Hamza from Trnova, Ballaban Siruzija, Jusuf from Drama, Ismail from Drama.³²

The personal names of the *ulfexhis* and the janissaries of Novobërda show that they were from different regions of the Balkans and other places which in 1455 belonged to the Ottoman state.

That there were migrations of the population within the Vučitern sandjak in the 2nd half of the 15th century, that is, in the first decades of the establishment of the Ottoman rule, can be seen from a comparison of the data of the register book of 1455 on the number of households with the data of the same character of the same sandjak in the register book of 1477 and 1487.³³

31 Ibidem.

32 Ibidem, p. 210.

33 A. Stojanovski, etc., *Opširen popisen defter no. 4 (1467-1486)*, Arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje 1971, pp. 444-447, 504-505, 508-509, 509-511.

Region	Village	No. of hou- ses in 1455	No. of hou- ses in 1477	No. of hou- ses in 1487	The published page of the Vellk vila- jet of 1455
KOLPOTNIK	Rajindol	11	9	11	10
	Bratošević	4	3	3	11
	Gojkofce	16	11	12	12
	Podkrate	9	9	12	13
	Mengolović	25	26	22	14
	Otesenović	2	9	13	17
	Velkosalić	1	3	4	17
VUCITRNA	Kracan	18	3	5	43
	Topola	5	2	2	45
	Gornji Kopilić	37	23	—	46
	Cepidol	35	10	10	59
	Kolut	2	unidentified	unidentified	70
	Crna Vrh (unknown)	12	10	10	71
	Dolnja Rakovica (unknown)	30	9	10	71
	Lutkovce	18	20	15	72
	Krunatica (unknown)	42	20	16	76
	Buljkovca	13	5	5	89
	Samobis (unknown)	30	25	27	92
	Gornje Brkovce	16	12	—	98
	Donji Studjinci	10	5	3	98
	Bijočinč	29	14	13	98
	Gornji Kudrin (unknown)	14	4	4	99
	Dolnji Kudrin (unknown)	—	—	2	100
	Prudna (unknown)	50	23	23	103
	Hrasnik	11	19	26	105
	Batbar	30	23	21	105
	Nedokos (unknown)	23	15	19	106
	Vojnica	2	1	2	113
	Onamir (unknown)	12	13	20	113

1	2	3	4	5	6
MORAVA	Sadrina	34	21	17	125
	Babal	9	4	4	134
	Bojac	12	1	3	134
	Malo Ravdonje (unknown)	20	9	9	137
	Nenovce	26	6	6	140
	Vladkovce	9	7	9	144
MORAVA	Ravjan (unknown)	40	20	20	147
	Luka	14	10	7	150
	Radkovic	27	19	21	155
	Stubol	16	11	11	156
	Opaštica	39	16	25	157
	Žipa (unknown)	25	12	10	158
	Mramori	20	19	18	160
	Priboj	21	28	27	169
	Bojkovci	15	13	14	170
	Karim (kirim krim)	40	34	31	173
TOPOLNICA	Grkovo (unknown)	20	45	—	176
	Kadanofc	10	6	5	186
	Topolnica	5	20	20	186
	Gjurnice	abandoned	4	5	195
	Kalindol	abandoned	10	11	195
	(unknown)				
	Kušljat	abandoned	6	4	195
	Svinjare (today Svinjara south of Mitrovica)	abandoned		2	196
	Klašci (unknown)	2	9	8	196
	Mezra				
	Manišinca (unknown)	abandoned	7	9	197
	Pijavica (unknown)	2	17	14	201
	Manovac (unknown)	abandoned	2	3	202
	Krljipce	abandoned	3	unidentif.	202
	Strizhvo	abandoned	13	12	203
	Hrupina (unknown)	abandoned	2	unidentif.	204
	Rajinovce	abandoned	3	—	204
	Zlashnica, (probably Zlati, east of Prishtina)	3	8	unidentif.	205

1	2	3	4	5	6
	Kokoločnik, (today Kokolec east of Kamenica)	13	31	33	205
	Mezra Herruri mezra		15	abandoned	206
	Lepoglava	abandoned	13	15	207
	Mezra Shevare (unknown)	abandoned	16	18	208
	Mezra Petkovce	abandoned	—	7	208
VILAJET PRISHTINA	Hinčić (Tirince) (north of Kamenica)	19	—	7	214
	Halda	22	10	unidentified	221
	Homoštica	48	20	14	231
	Gornje Rušince	56	12	—	233
	Jovanihevc (unknown)	18	13	11	234
	Rajkovc (unknown)	5	5	5	235
	Zoranc	5	1	unidentified	236
	Palica (unknown)	14	7	11	237
	Dolove (north of Rozhaja)	42	100	100	239
	Dolnja Rakovica (present Rakovica in Toplica)	44	—	64	245
	Giglava (Barilevo)	19	—	27	252
	Mladoševci (unknown)	7	—	13	256
	Gradince	16	—	12	257
LLAB	Gornji Zagulj	21	—	21	263
	Krupna (unknown)	22	15	—	265
	Berkovce (unknown)	8	15	14	266
	Vlajkovce (unknown)	7	—	11	268
	Jaram (unknown)	5	3	3	269
	Dolce (unknown)	13	21	14	271
	Balin (Malin, Potok) (unknown)	16	16	23	273
	Borina Crkva	23	9	15	275
	Stupa (stubla)	4	10	—	277
	Zhirovce	20	30	25	277
	Mojanovca (today the Majance village on the Kaçandoll river)	34	14	14	278

1	2	3	4	5	6
	Orašica	14	13	8	281
	Slotino (Slatina)	6	1	mezra	282
	Vislica (unknown)	37	21	20	289
	Krvaja (unknown)	65	50	40	291
	Koshtan (Koclah)				
	Kučlan (unknown)	31	31	23	293
	Starubica (unknown)	46	30	25	295
	Košovci				
	Kušovci				
	Kosovci (unknown)	20	25	37	295
	Vrtipras (in Llap)	7	abandoned	abandoned	296
	Strušica	17	30	30	297
	Brkovce	4	11	13	298
	Beranc (unknown)	20	25	13	298
	Ripanje (unknown)	22	25	27	303
	Ugrina (unknown)	10	6	3	304
	Lopuina (unknown)	13	20	14	305
	Arsovce (unknown)	16	25	29	309
	Kenuzi				
	Čenuzi				
	Kanuzi				
	Čanuzi (unknown)	24	28	30	311
	Puznica, Buslica				
	(unknown)	13	37	25	311
	Sirovica	13	—	21	312
	Bitol (near Prishtina)	20	10	15	313
	Mezra Korterpa				
	(unidentified)				
	Čeramid (belonged				
	to Llap)	8	14	19	317
	Trha (belonged				
	to Llap)	25	15	16	319
	Čirteš				
	(Čirez) čirtes	25	29	24	320
	Dolnji Mirnjeva				
	(belonged to Llap)	30	19	21	322
	Vranjina				
	(belonged to Llap)	29	18	16	325
	Robuina				
	(belonged to Llap)	13	18	21	327
	Mihozub				
	(belonged to Llap)	31	24	23	328
	Dudman				
	(belonged to Llap)	13	20	13	331
	Milodrugovc				
	(belonged to Llap)	9	6	5	331

1	2	3	4	5	6
Grahovica or Krahovica	9	13	14	333	
Gladni Dol (belonged to Llap)	4	7	11	336	
Paševište (Boševište, belonged to Llap abandoned)	5	3	336		

From the tables above it emerges that of the 122 villages in question, during the period 1455-1487 the number of households has diminished in 63 villages, has increased in 50 villages, whereas in 8 villages their number has either remained stable or has increased or fallen from the year 1455 to 1478, whereas in 1487 it has reached the level of 1455. In these 122 villages in 1455 there were 1996 households all told. But 22 years later it falls by 288 households, thus in 1477 there were a total of 1708 households in those 122 villages, and ten years later in 1487, there were 1680 households, that is ten households less in those 122 villages.

These figures for a considerable part of the present territory of Kosova speak in favour of the opinion that within that territory during the years 1455-1487 displacement and migrations of the population from one village to the other have occurred, a thing that brought about the decrease or increase of the number of households within a relatively short period of time.

It is interesting to observe the situation of the increase or decrease of the number of households in different provinces of the Vëllk vilajet in the sandjak of Vučitern. In three out of 7 villages of the *nahije* of Kllloponik the number of households diminished, in three others it increased, whereas in one it remained unchanged; in 14 out of the 22 villages of the *nahije* of Vučitern, the number of households fell, in two it increased, whereas in one remained stable, in the *nahije* of Topollnica the number of households in two out of twenty villages

has a fall, whereas in 18 of them it increased; in the vilajet of Prishtina the number of households in 7 villages fell, in one it remained the same, whereas in one it increased; in the *nahije* of Llap in 24 out of 47 villages the number of households increased, in 19 of them it diminished, whereas in 4 the situation remained stable. From this it emerges clearly that the increase of the number of households in the period 1455-1487 occurs mainly in the villages of the province of Topollnica, i.e., in the district of Novobërda. This speaks of the importance of Novobërda in the second half of the 15th century as a mining and trading centre, which explains the stability of the population there and in its surroundings, and the absorption of a considerable number of inhabitants from the other *nahijes*. This factor must account for the fact that during the second half of the 15th century the population in Topollnica increased, whereas in the regions around it the cases of the fall of its number are greater than its increase. Naturally, all this was only one of the factors which caused the occurrence of continued migrations in the region in question and its neighbouring regions, which made up only part of the present territory of Kosova. Without doubt, there were many other factors in play in this natural movement of the population, among which there are some which we do not know of at all because of the lack of historical data.

The Llap *nahije* ranks second after the Topollnica in the increase of households, whereas in the Klopotnik the increase is ballanced with the decrease of households. Vučitern, Morava and the vilajet of Prishtina are provinces in which the number of households decreased compared to the other 3 provinces where they were increased.

Although we have data which say that in these 122 villages the number of households diminished in the period 1455-1487 this by no means implies that, in those regions where those 122 villages were situated, we have

a total decline of the number of the population. We think that, taken as a whole, the number of inhabitants increased in the period 1455-1487, because this period witnessed the formation of a series of new villages, which must have had an influence in the decline of the number of households in those 122 villages. To illustrate this formation of new settlements we shall mention one fact: whereas in 1455 in the vilajet of Vëllk there were only 646 villages, in the Vučitrn sandjak which was nearly as big as the mentioned vilajet, during the second half of the 16th century there were nearly 1 200 settlements and villages. This shows that on the territory of the Brankoviće, in the Vučitrn sandjak over nearly one century the number of settlements had doubled.

A Turkish register book of the years 1467-1468 supplies information about the situation of the movement of the population in the surroundings of Kačanik. According to it we notice that the number of immigrants to the Kačanik surroundings was much smaller than in the territory of the Branković, i.e., in the Vučitrn sandjak. The villages in the surroundings of Kačanik, among which some heads of families are described as immigrants in 1467-68, were: Lepenc with 40 households (Jovan prišlac); Ivanja with 12 households (Millosh prišlić); Llušica with 30 households (Ivan prišlić), Gorance with 81 households (Vojin the son of iselica); Bukovik with 35 households (Petk the son of iselica); Runjevo with 78 households (Dobrivoj the son of prišlić and Radislav, prišlić). The fact that the villages Luboten, with 42 households, Radushe with 93 households, Glluhove with 45 households, Nočevc with 44 households, Gjurgjavidoll with 33 households, Lubance with 53 households, Dragonoze with 10 households, Vučidoll with 17 households, Gračane with 34 households, Pokvernik with 27 households, Režance with 35 households, Vertmnice with 13 households, Kotline with 31 households, Ninkov with 13 households, Kovačeva with 63 households. Lanište with 44 households, Sopotnice with 151 households, Trstenica with 26 house-

holds, Pustenik with 58 households and Palivodenice with 33 households³⁴ of the neighbourhood of Kačanik had no head of family described as immigrant in the said period, speaks in favour of the opinion that during the second half of the 15th century the movement of the population in the neighbourhood of Kačanik was smaller than that in the villages which were part of the Vëllk vilajet which belonged to the Vučitrn sandjak.

The detailed register of the Shkodra sandjak of 1485 provides important data on the migrating element in the province of Peja. The inhabitants of that province described as immigrants in that register are:³⁵

Peja: Cvetko prišlić, Junakas prišlić, Stepan prišlić.

The village *Bjelopola e Madhe*: Bogavać prišlić, Božidar prišlić, Bogdan prišlić.

The village *Bjelopola e Vogël*: Radonja prišlić, Zorko prišlić, Brezan prišlić, Rasha prišlić, Jovan prišlić, Vuce-ta prišlić, Radoja prišlić, Vukashin prišlić.

Krivogllava: Radosav prišlić.

Brestja: Boshko prišlić, Bogoi prišlić, Radosav prišlić.

Novosela: Radona prišlić, Radosav prišlić.

Petrica: Vuk prišlić.

Lužica: Vukashin prišlić, Gjura prišlić, Radic prišlić.

Šaboka: Radosav prišlić, Nikolla prišlić, Radovan prišlić.

Brestović: Radosna prišlić, Radak prišlić, Vukosav prišlić.

Podi Salica: Radosav prišlić, Stepko prišlić.

Pelca: Milovan prišlić.

Gjerbciša: Radosav prišlić.

Rugova: Vucka the son of prišlić; Vukosav prišlić.

³⁴ Ibidem, pp. 427-460.

³⁵ See Selami Pulaha, *Onomastic Data on the Albanian Element of the District of Shkodra at the End of the 15th Century*, «Historical Studies», no. 4, Tirana 1972, pp. 212-215; ibidem, *The Registration Book of the Shkodra Sandjak of 1485*, the Academy of Sciences of the PSRA, the Institute of History, Tirana 1974 (foreword).

Dečan: Stanimir prišlić, Radovan prišlić, Radosav prišlić, Todori the son of prišlić, Jovan the son of the prišlić, Mihajlo the son of the prišlić.

Gjakovica: Boshidar prišlić.

Dolina Trebović: Bogdan prišlić, Radoslav prišlić, Radoslav prišlić.

Crna Potok: Boshko prišlić.

Rekova: Brisav prišlić, Radosav prišlić.

Kruševica: Radovan prišlić, Radovan prišlić, Jovan prišlić.

Slojan: Todor prišlić.

Usak (Osak): Gjin prišlić.

Crnovirha: Prenk prišlić.

Lubishta: Bozhko prišlić, the garden of Radic prišlić.

Žolec: the garden of Ismak owned by Jovan prišlić.

Rilkovina. Dadesh prišlić.

Doboluca: Gjura the son of the prišlić.

Shtupel. Stepan prišlić, Radivoi prišlić.

Ozrin: Dabzhivi the son of prišlić; Jovan prišlić.

Brodinić: Andrija prišlić, Radica prišlić.

Lutoglava: Vuk prišlić, Dabko prišlić.

Češkova: Radan prišlić, Jovan prišlić, Rasha prišlić.

Vranić: Begosav prišlić.

Fshajan: Lukaq prišlić.

Milgjan: Dabzhivi the son of the prišlić.

Orahovac. Bogdan prišlić.

Lablat: Radosa prišlić.

Bjelopavlić: Dimiter prišlić, Dabizhiv prišlić, Leka the son of prišlić.

Dolova: Prodan prišlić, Radoi prišlić.

Istranmeš: Vukashin prišlić.

Šikona (Sikuna): Gjorgj prišlić.

Strelec: Bozhidar prišlić, the garden of the prišlić.

Bec: Mazarak prišlić.

Lubolić: Radic prišlić.

Verić: Jovan, the son of prišlić; Stepan prišlić, Vukiq prišlić, Radovan prišlić.

Cirunbrek: Dimitr prišlić, Nenko prišlić.

Studenica: Jovan prišlić Radić prišlić, Radonja prišlić, Stepan prišlić.

Nakil: Tepan prišlić, Vuksan prišlić.

Dolina Mekrovac: Gjorgj prišlić.

Irzinić: Nikolla prišlić.

Plevcica: Dragan prišlić.

Salca: Dimitri prišlić.

Iznica: Vuksan prišlić.

Stara Andovran: Dimitri the son of the prišlić.

Prceva: Jovan prišlić.

Novosela: Miranko prišlić, Dabzhiv prišlić, Dejan prišlić, Andrija prišlić, Stepan prišlić.

Klina: Radonja prišlić, Mihajlo prišlić.

Papragjan: Radsav prišlić.

Isnć: Jovan prišlić.

Neglavka: Jovan prišlić, Rajko prišlić.

Netrobista: Jovan prišlić, Bogdan prišlić.

Dobri Dug: Stepan prišlić.³⁶

Hence there was a total of 121 persons in the province of Peja called immigrants in 1485.

On the basis of these personal names, who appear as immigrants in the register of 1485, it is clear that most of them have names of a Slavonic origin, whereas names of an Albanian origin are few. Apart from this, if the number of the immigrants in the *nahije* of Peja is compared with that of the immigrants in other regions of the Shkodra sandjak which are situated in present-day Albania, we find that there are great differences. In fact the number of immigrant heads of families or sons of immigrants is much greater in the regions which today make up the region of Kosova. For illustration we shall mention the fact that in the *nahije* of Shkodra, according to the register book there are only two heads of families called immigrants, one in Shkodra, Nikolla prišlić, and another in the village of Grilla: Stepan prišlić.

The number of immigrants is greater in the *nahije*

³⁶ Ibidem.

of Peja, which includes 63 villages and in which there are immigrant heads of families. Their number in it is greater than the total number of immigrant heads of families in all the *nahijes* of the Shkodra sandjak. This migrant element speaks in favour of the opinion that out of all the *nahijes* of the Shkodra sandjak the *nahije* of Peja was the one where the process of the migration of the population from one village to the other and from other *nahijes* was the greatest. As this process has not occurred only during the period of 22 years of the Turkish occupation, i.e., from 1463 when Peja was invaded by the Turks, till 1485, when these written data on the immigrant heads of families of the said region were recorded, we can say that most of the immigrants came to Peja as a result of the migrations to this fertile area in the pre-Turkish period. That some of the heads of families called immigrants had been there since the pre-Turkish period this can be seen in the fact that the immigrants are mentioned together with their sons.

On the basis of the existing sources and literature we cannot say anything definite about the place of origin of those heads of families who are described as immigrants. Therefore nothing concrete can be said whether it was an internal migration of the population from one village to the other within Peja, or just an ordinary displacement of inhabitants from outside that region to those territories. In connection with this S. Pulaha stresses, «The large number of the Slavonic element in the regions of Peja and Suhogorlla is explained with the fact that the Slavonic migrations continued till the end of the 15th century. . . We do not find any inhabitants called immigrants in the central and western part of the Shkodra sandjak except for two persons in the province of Shkodra and Zhablak. This phenomenon is characteristic of the north-eastern territories, such as those of Peja and Suhogerlla, where we find immigrant inhabitants in 1/3 of the settlements»³⁷.

37 S. Pulaha, *Register Book*. . . , pp. 43-44.

From an analysis of the personal names of the immigrant elements we may conclude that only five heads of families in the *nahije* of Peja and Suhogerlla have Albanian names, whereas nearly all rest have Slavonic or Serbian names. Hence in those two provinces there were cases of immigrant elements of a Serbian ethnos. The fact that there are no such elements or very few of them in the other regions of the Shkodra sandjak convinces us that this is not a case of an internal migration within those regions, but more likely a migration or displacement of the population to the Peja *nahije* from some territory outside the Shkodra sandjak. However one thing is certain: these immigrants were not from Albania or from the territories with a predominating Albanian anthroponymy. Had they been from Albanian territories or from territories where the majority of the anthroponyms were Albanian, it would have been normal that the majority of them had Albanian anthroponyms or anthroponyms characteristic for the Albanians.

The following tables show the situation of the immigrants to the *nahijes* of Shkodra 1485:³⁸

Region	Number of villages with immigrants	Total number of villages
Peja	62	194
Suhogerlla	8	28
Komnin	9	32
Komoran	1	15
Vučitrna	7	14
Pergovišta	1	3
Prishtina	2	5
Prizren	5	14
Topollnica	1	1
Shkodra	2	83
Zhabjak	1	18
Altunilia	3	51
Total	102	458

³⁸ S. Pulaha, *Elements...*, «Historical Studies», no. 1, Tirana 1972, p. 85.

On the basis of the above table it results that in the Shkodra sandjak in 1485 there were 12 *nahijes* with 458 villages, 102 of which had immigrant heads of families. Of them 62 are in Peja. If we add to this the 18 villages of Vučitrn, Prizren, Topollnice and Altunilia which all are part of the present territory of Kosova and where there are immigrant heads of families, it results that in 1485 out of the 102 villages of the Shkodra sandjak where there are immigrant heads of families, 80 villages were included in the present territory of Kosova. The villages with a greater number of immigrant heads of families are seen in the villages situated further north.

According to the detailed register book of the Prizren sandjak of 1591 none of the inhabitants of the Islamic religion of the town of Prizren figures as an immigrant, but this does not prove that there were not immigrant heads of families among them. Among the population of Islamic religion, the fact that a «poor traveller» lived in the quarter called «Kurilla» is mentioned. Compared to this situation of the inhabitants of the Islamic religion, in the quarters of this town among the Christian population there are cases when several heads of families are called immigrants. They are Vaso, Stojko and Miladin in the «Eski Pazar» quarter, which had a total of 8 households, Stanislav, Lazar, Stepan and Gjura in the «Madhiq» quarter, which had 30 households; Mladin and Nikolla in the «Vasil» quarter with 27 households, Iliash, Bogadan and Juvan in the «Kurilla» quarter with 13 households; Vojo, Andrea, Tole and Pop Vojo in the «Bogovi Dibar» quarter; Dimitr, Bogdan, Damjan, Juvan, Axhetko, Juvan, Grabo, Novak and Gjuro in the «Radimir (Lladimir)» quarter with 51 households; Andrea and Stojko in the «Jazixhi Sinan» quarter with 24 households; Simon, Jezhan, Dija and Andrija in the «Pandalie» quarter with 29 households, Lukaq, Gjurko and Dimitri in the «Prend Vriqa» quarter with 2 households; Prend in the «Ajas» quarter, alias «Ezkuqan», with 13 households; and

Dobrosav and Lukać in the «Pandalie Hajmanxhane» quarter. Hence 41 of the 216 households in those 11 quarters of Prizren of Christian religion, had heads of families described as immigrants in 1591. Of the 12 Christian quarters only one of them, «Çarshi», with 12 households had no head of family called an immigrant.³⁹

It must be pointed out especially that in Prizren, which at the time of the census had a majority of Albanian anthroponyms, out of 41 immigrant heads of families only 5 have characteristic Albanian names, whereas the rest have Slavonic names and to a less extent also names of a Christian origin.⁴⁰ This situation in the anthroponymy of the Christian inhabitants of Prizren speaks in support of the opinion that the major part of the 41 immigrant heads of families in Prizren was comprised of the Slavonic elements. However, this does not mean that all the heads of families called immigrants, who have Slavonic names, were Slavs or Serbs ethnically, because it is wrong to equalize anthroponymy with ethnical belonging.

In the register book of the Prizren sandjak of 1591 the immigrant element in the region of Hoça (Rahovec district) appears as follows: out of 37 villages the anthroponymy of which has been published by S. Pulaha,⁴¹ only 4 villages have an immigrant head of family. They bear Slavonic and Christian names. This situation in the region of Hoça speaks convincingly of the fact that the process of migration to that province was very limited. If we compare this process in that province with the process of migrations to the other provinces we reach the conclusion that in the extreme north of the territory of present-day Kosova the process of migration was more intensive.

39 Tapu ve Kadastro Umûm Müdürlüğünüm Arşivi, book no. 55, pp. 15-16.

40 Ibidem.

41 S. Pulaha, *Economic Data...*, «Historical Studies», no. 1, 1972, pp. 137-208.

The existence of 14 abandoned villages in the region of Hoça during the last decade of the 16th century also speaks of the movement of the population in that province.⁴²

The detailed register book of the Vuçitrn sandjak which has not been published and made available for studies and which, according to all possibilities, was written during the time of the rule of Sultan Selim II (1566-1574), contains important information of the migration of the population in the Vuçitrn sandjak during the 70's and 80's of the 16th century.⁴³ In the framework of that sandjak, according to this register, there are abandoned villages, habitations being abandoned or being formed and the «mezra»⁴⁴. They are:

Region	Abandoned village	«Mezra» village abandoned long ago	Page of Tapu kadaströ umüm müdürlüğünüm Arsivi, Ankara book no. 124
Sirqa	Gjegoshtica		26
Muqibaba	Svinjarc		28
Muqibaba	Dankovc		29
Bane	Virbanica		33
Ostërvica	Edinaska Pertilla (?)		40
Ostërvica	Dupllana		43
Ostërvica	Boshko Petrili		43
»	Markovc		43
»		Kozhiqe	43
Treboshnica	Mulevc		45
»	Gjorgjeva Kulla		45
»	Zllatin		53

⁴² Ibidem.

⁴³ Tapu ve Kadaströ Umüm Müdürlüğünün arşivi, book. 124.

⁴⁴ Mezra-Arabic, in Turkish, mezraa-ultrine, village abandoned long ago.

1	2	3	4
Treboshnica	Stankovce		53
Kremnat	Uguril		60
»	Dankovce		60
Petollnica	Bratillove		80
»	Kučuk Katon		81
»	Dervenar		92
»	Kumanica		90
»		Radilove	93
»		Vllashince	93
»		Klliselić	93
»	Radollovce		93
»		Bubince	93
»		Vllahotince	93
»	Milenc		94
Staro Sello	Martinovce		101
»	Velletin		101
»	Banica		101
Suteska	Gorno Tatince		103
»	Sloboda		104
»	Berikovce		105
»	Sterzhin		122
»	Creshnica		124
»		Stepan sin	126
»		Dilliq	126
»	Zavojište		126
Llab	Usileniç		151
»		Ruzhna	155
»	Gorni Mirovac		164
»	Dolna Sillove		168
»		Stremce	168
Llab	Dushe		170
»	Pavilovce		173
»		Drenovce	174
»		Priboje	174
»	Olar		176
Gollak		Gorno Urlani	181
»	Zastok		191
»	Crveni Breg		194
»	Doshenc		195
»	Vukoja		195
»	Gorni Maqar (?)		198
»	Basillovce		202
»		Çagaq (?)	203
»	Medenica		204

1	2	3	4
Gollak	Gradence		204
»	Qavush		205
»		Crkve Izborna in the villages Me- denice and Urrlani	205
»		Hrushinčice	205
»		Radince	205
Vučitrna	Mondell (Petrovo)		237
»		Dabuish (?)	247
»	Brešnice		249
»		Topoloa	265
»	Tallenc (?)		266
»	Rajovc		267
»	Gorno Llovce		267
»	Kotor		268
»	Gorno Berckovc		273
»	Borovnica		273
»	Crkvena Kostandin (?)		279
»		Llumash	279
Kllopotnik	Gllobar		289
»	Dolno Čičevo		291
»	Kllopotnik		292
»	Magović		292
Morava	Milas		331
Morava	Virban		332
»	Kolgjin		356
»	Mucovc		363
»	Vidrovce the other name: Haniarovc (?)		367
Kara Dutlu	Lekuča Kulla		370
»	Stanica		371
»	Villidoll		375

...If we compare the number of abandoned villages in the Vëllk vilajet in 1455 to those of the Vučitrn sandjak in 1566-1574 which had approximately the same territory as the former Vëllk vilajet, it can be clearly seen that there were more abandoned villages on this territory during the second half the 16th century, when we find 65 abandoned households and 20 «mezra». There were 62 entirely abandoned villages and «mezra» of that sandjak which had remained unpopulated in the second half of the 16th century. Whereas in 1455 their number was 42. From this it emerges that in a period of more

than one century the number of abandoned villages had increased by 20. This fact makes it possible for us to correct the admission of H. Hadjibegić that «the cause of the existence of 42 abandoned habitations in the Vëllk vilajet in 1455 must be explained with the military operations carried out there during the year 1454. The increase of the number of such villages in that territory after an uneventful century speaks in favour of the opinion that all the abandoned villages of the second half of the 16th century are a result of permanent migrations of the population within that territory caused by the socio-economic conditions. Like the other Turkish censuses of the «muffusal» type, the register book of the Vučitrn sandjak of the 7th and 8th decades of the 16th century provides information on the immigrants alongside the names of which the adjective prišlic, prišliq, došlac, selica, etc., is written.

Therefore, based on the personal names of the immigrant heads of families of the Vučitrna sandjak in 1566-1574, it results that there were 482 such heads of families in the mentioned sandjak at that time. It is interesting that although the most frequent personal names in that sandjak are Dmītr, Petr, Mat etc., in the definite form (Dimitri, Petri, Mati, etc.) of the Albanian language, i.e., their ending is the -i of the Albanian language, they are not so among the 482 immigrant heads of families. We do not know the reason for this. This situation is like that of the Vëllk vilajet, hence of the same territory in 1455 when, as we mentioned above, no Albanian names appear among the immigrant heads of families. This situation speaks in favour of the opinion that the Albanian element on the territory of the Vučitrn sandjak not only in 1455, but also during the second half of the 16th century, did not migrate and was not included at large among the ranks of the migrating population. There are 24 heads of families who have the name Dimitri, 18 with the name or surname Petri and 12 who have the name or surname Mati among the heads of

families called immigrants in the Vučitrn sandjak in 1566-1574. From the ethnical point of view, we consider these inhabitants Albanians. The Slavonic element prevails in the anthroponymy of the immigrant heads of families. However, this does not mean that all such heads of families should be considered Slavs (Serbians) from the ethnical point of view, too, because it is a known fact that the ethnical Albanian element and the Wallachian element had Slavonic anthroponymy as a result of the influence of the religious, state and political factors during the pre-Turkish period.

Of the 482 heads of families which in this register book of Vučitrna, compiled in the years 1566-1574, figure as immigrants 25 were inhabitants of the villages of the Krivareka *nahije* (region), 6 inhabitants of the villages of the Gllama region, 8 of the villages of the Sirča region, one of the villages of the Bane region, 2 of the villages of the Ostervica region, 2 of the villages of the Trebošnica region, 3 of the villages of the Bugarina region, 2 of villages of the Kremnat region, 3 of the villages of the Doberčan region, 53 of the villages of the Petollnica region, 48 of the villages of the Staro Selo region, 14 of the villages of the Suteska region, 51 of the villages of the Trepča region, 18 of the villages of the Bellasica region, 40 of the villages of the Llab region, 11 of the villages of the Gollak region, 96 of the villages of Vučitrna, 4 of the villages of the Kllopotnik region, and 93 of the villages of the Morava region. The regions of the Vučitrna sandjak which at that time had more immigrant heads of families were Vučitrn and Morava, followed by Petolnica, Staro Sela, Lab etc. From the kind of territory of the regions among which we find many immigrant heads of families, we observe that there were more immigrants in the lowland or plain regions and fewer in the hilly-mountainous ones. Only this explains the fact why in the Golak region, which compared with the regions of Llap, Morava and Vučitrna for its size, there were only 11 immigrant heads of families. We

notice that at this time there was a natural, gradual movement from the mountains to the plains, from the hills to the lowlands, within the Vučitrna sandjak which the contemporaries have failed to mention. This can also be proved by the fact that in the register book there are more abandoned villages in the hilly-mountainous regions rather than the lowland-plain ones. Apart from the possibility of the emigrations from the hilly-mountainous regions to the lowlands, it must be kept in mind that the heads of families who came from regions outside the Vučitrna sandjak always settled in the towns or in the lowland territories. Therefore, the lowland-valley territories were the places where the immigrants settled, both when they came from within the Vučitrna sandjak or other territories outside it.

The value of this detailed register book of the Vučitrna sandjak of the second half of the 16th century also lies in the fact that it contains the place of origin of some heads of families. On the basis of them it emerges that there were two kinds of immigrants: those who came from villages within the region, and those who came from territories outside this sandjak. Hence, for example, *Janjeva*, which belonged to the *Staro Sela* region had 8 heads of families who, according to the register, were one from the villages of *Dobranjin*, one from the village of *Gumnishte*, one from the village of *Šarunjac*, one from the village of *Stojanovc*, one from the village of *Trebošnic*, one from *Novoberda*, one from *Merkonjić* and one head of family from Sudimll(?). Hence the majority of them had come from villages situated in the vicinity of Janjeva. In the village of *Brković*, which belonged to the province of *Staro Sela*, one head of family had been registered as a native of the village of *Trebošnica*. Among the villages of the province of *Suteska* only in the village of *Mramor* (today a village with the same name in the vicinity of *Prishtina*) we find one immigrant head of family who had come from

the village of Businje(?). In the villages of the Trepča region we find more immigrant heads of families whose native village has been recorded in the book. Hence, in Trepča, which was also the centre of that region, we find four heads of families about whom it is said that they came from a village of the *Bosnia sandjak*, one from *Novi Pazar*, one from the *Zvornik sandjak*, and one from the village of *Brestano*. Hence, out of these four heads of families three had come from outside the Vučitrna sandjak, from the regions bordering on the Slavs, such as the Bosnia and Zvornik sandjaks. In the village of *Rashan* of the Trepča region, one head of family had come from *Bellastica*. In the village of *Bar* of the same region one head of family had come from Trepča, whereas in the other village of the same province, called *Trstina*, one head of family came from the village of *Millakovce*.

In the Bellastica region the register mentions the native place of only two heads of families: one from *Plloudiv*, whereas the other, who is mentioned in the village of *Uraksall*, came from *Bellastica*.

In the Llap region such heads of families could be found in the following villages: in *Jasna* (?) one head of family from the village of *Lepne*(?), in *Remanishte* one head of family from *Kurshumlija*, in *Bello Pole* there was a Mahmud Boshnjaku, and another head of family from the village of *Makovc* near *Prishtina*; In *Upper Bardash* a head of family from the village of *Žirovce*; in *Kertok*, which must be the present quarter of the village of *Gllamik* near *Podujeva*, one head of family from the town of *Shkup*; in *Šajkovc* one head of family from the village of *Tunizhdol*; in *Lower Lubašınca* one head of family from the village of *Runica*(?); in *Urlla* one head of family from the village of *Metohia*, and in *Lower Trnova* (*Dolno Trnovo*) one head of family from *Medvegja*. This shows that in the Llap region there were 3 heads of families, or three households, because each head of family represented a household, who came from

territories outside the Vučitrna sandjak. Of them one came from the town of Shkup, one from Kurshumlija and one from Medvegja. According to the register, the heads of families who had come from territories within the Vučitrn sandjak were twice as many as the heads of families who had come from territories outside it.

The Gollak region had no head of family from some other territory outside the Vučitrna sandjak, it had only two immigrants, one from the village of *Jarkovce*, who had come from the village of Merkovici, and one in the village of *Mazono*, who had come from the village of *Dobratin*, which are both situated in that sandjak.

In the Vučitrna region, in the village of *Samops* (?) one head of family was a native of the village of *Dubnica*, in Vučitrn there was a certain Mahmud Boshnjaku, in the village of *Verba* (now Vernice) one head of family was from the town of *Novi Pazar*, in the village of *Sudimll* one head of family came from the village of *Ribnice*, in the village of *Osilan* (perhaps present day Ošlan) one head of family came from the village of *Rudnik*, in the village of *Stočiće* one head of family came from the *Shkup sandjak*, and another from the village of *Orahovc* (?) (perhaps present day Rahove), which is situated in Shalë of Bajgora, in the village of *Dubnic* one head of family came from the village of Kovač and another from the village of *Gumishte*, in *Sibovc* one head of family came from the village of *Starince*, and in the village of *Trnovc* (Trnovac) one head of family came from the village of *Lešnica*. Only two heads of families came from other sandjaks and settled in the Vučitrna region and the sandjak of the same name. One was from the town of Novi Pazar and the other from the sandjak of Shkup. The head of family (Mahmud Boshnjaku) from Vučitrna kept this name, possibly because he was from Bosnia. Nine other heads of families were from the villages of that region or from the villages of other provinces of the Vučitrn sandjak.

The province of Morava, which had Prishtina as its

administrative centre, had 8 villages where we find immigrant heads of families with the native places respectively appearing in the book. These settlements are: *Prishtina* where there was one head of family from *Novi Pazar*, *Skerčina* (propably present-day Syrçin) near *Lipjan*, where a head of family is mentioned to have come from the village of *Prela*, *Skollanova* (today *Skullanovo*) a head of family from *Kerbašenca*, *Mallopolçe* (present-day Mallopoc near *Ferizaj*) where one head of family is mentioned to have come from the village of *Millašin*, *Koshara* with an immigrant head of family from the village of *Šaranić* (today *Sharanik*), a ruin in the village of *Jezerc* of the commune of *Ferizaj*, *Hemištica* (perhaps present-day *Henci*) where there is one head of family from the village of *Armilac* (perhaps present-day *Harilaq*), *Banjica* with one head of family from the village of *Upper Lipovica*, and *Mogilla* (today a village of the *Vitia* commune) where there was a head of family from the village of *Podgorica* (today *Podgor*) in the *Vitia* commune. Of the 8 heads of families of the above-mentioned villages of the *Morava* region, the place of origin of which appears in the register, only one came from a territory outside the *Vučitrna sandjak*. He had come from *Novi Pazar* and had settled in *Prishtina*.

From these data of the Ottoman register of the second half of the 16th century of the *Vučitrn sandjak* we see that the majority of those called immigrants were a result of the movement of population from one settlement to the other within the same sandjak, and a few of them were a result of the movement of the population from other sandjaks to that of *Vučitrn*. However, in connection with this the question arises: why among the many heads of families natives of other places, only few of their native places, appear in the register? We think that perhaps the heads of families, whose native place appears in the register had come to that settlement later, that is, after the census taken by the Ottoman administration and, for reasons of army

levies, their place of origin was registered, whereas the others who also appear in that register were merely described as immigrants without noting their place of origin. It is possible that those who took the census were not sure of the original place of the immigrants, or because part of them were early immigrants. Therefore, in connection with this, we may venture the supposition that not all the heads of families called immigrants were direct immigrants, but sons of immigrants. This can be proved by the data of the register in which some are called not only sons of immigrants, but also grandsons and great-grandsons. Hence, the name immigrant written beside the name of some heads of families sometimes is used as a surname. However, it is difficult to distinguish when the word immigrant (*prišlić*) is used as a surname and when it is used merely as a noun. However, even when it does have the function of a surname it shows that the person or one of his ancestors had come from another place to the place where he had been registered.

The register has few data on the few cases of emigrations from the Vučitrn sandjak to other sandjaks. At the time when the census was taken, the inhabitants of the village of Bosillovce (which belonged to the Gollaku region), who lived scattered in many villages of the Kruševc sandjak came back to their native village. The village of Drvenar of the Petolnica region, was deserted at the time the census was made. Its 8 inhabitants had settled in the Shkodra sandjak. These are two separate cases which are presented in the register which show that there were cases of movement from the villages of the Vučitrn sandjak to the villages of other sandjaks.

It is interesting to see that in this register there is not the slightest proof of migrations of the population from the Albanian regions (which today make up the PSR of Albania) to the territory of the Vučitrn sandjak. We think that if such was the case the registrar would have reflected it. Its silence shows that there were no such migrations. The significant fact that at the time of

the compilation of this register there was no migration from the present territory of Albania to the present territory of Kosova shows how far from the scientific truth are a series of anthropo-geographic works published to date which, on the basis of some unreliable tradition and without consulting any archive or diplomatic source of the time, say that the Albanian element began to come to the present territory of Kosova since the 14th century, that is, since the Kosova Battle. Their number increased during the 15th and 16th centuries and especially after the Austrian-Turkish wars of the last decade of the 17th century. From this register it emerges that such a migration did not occur till the second half of the 16th century. However, it remains to be decided whether there was a big or small migration during the 17th century, on the basis of the documents of that century, which is not the object of this paper.

The reports of different visitors sent to the papacy are important in the study of the migrations to the present territory of Kosova during the first half of the 17th century and earlier. So, in 1638 Gjergj Bardhi wrote: «Some Albanians who had come from Piloti and lived in Prizren had six households.»⁴⁵ In 1650 Gregor Mazreku wrote that in the village of Landovica there were 4 households of catholics, who had come from Albania.⁴⁶ In 1639 in the village of Dobrusha near Prizren there were only two families who had come from Dukagjin because of blood feuds.⁴⁷

In 1641-1642 Gjergj Bardhi wrote that at the time he had found in Suhareka 20 households of natives from the mountains of Dukagjin who belonged to the Catholic religion.⁴⁸

45 I. Zamputi, *Reports on the Situation of Northern and Central Albania in the 17th Century*, II, Tirana 1963, 101.

46 Ibidem, p. 441.

47 Ibidem, p. 169.

48 Ibidem, p. 225.

These visitors report that in the 17th century and somewhat earlier there were cases of inhabitants from the neighbouring Albanian territories settling on the present territory of Kosova. However the number of such emigrants at that time was very small. Some scholars, proceeding from these reports of catholic visitors, have exaggerated the migration or the population from the Albanian territories to the present territory of Kosova. They consider this migration, which is not documented, as the only possible way of explaining the population of the present territory of Kosova with Albanian ethnoses. They have allegedly explained the radical demographical transformation of that territory as a result of the massive migrations which occurred after the Austrian-Turkish war at the end of the 17th century when the compact Serbian population allegedly abandoned this territory and was replaced by the Albanian element from Albania.⁴⁹

That such large-scale migrations as are described in historiography up to date have not occurred has been proved by some scholars of bourgeois historiography, but they did this in order to prove that not only before the last decade of the 17th century, but also after that, the majority of the population of the present territory of Kosova were Serbians; which cannot be proved with written documents.

It is interesting that the scholars who have studied this migration, have used only the Austrian and the Slavonic Church sources, but not to the right extent the Turkish-Ottoman ones. We have been able to consult the Turkish sources about this. Thus for example, according to the Berat signet of 1701 we learn that the Austrian-Turkish war of the end of the 17th century also caused part of the population of the sandjaks of Prizren and

⁴⁹ Such an admission can be found in all publications of old bourgeois Yugoslavia.

Dukagjin to move to Berat, Mallakastra and Vlora in Southern Albania.

Turkish diplomatic sources show that part of the Albanians from Kelmend settled in the territories of Prizren and Vučitrn at the beginning of the 18th century. The earlier sources, especially the Turkish registers, have no data on any migration of the Albanian population from the present territories of Albania to the present territories of Kosova.

Finally as far as the migrations of the population of Kosova is concerned, especially the migrations from its territory to the north, it must be stressed that in the majority of the existing studies the displacement of the Serbs,⁵⁰ especially that of the end of the 17th century, has been exaggerated, a thing that weakens their scientific value, because the migrations, especially those of the end of the 17th century, have not been of such great proportions as the existing historiography claims. They did not include only the Serbs, because the Turkish Austrian conflict of 1689-1690 in the present territory of Kosova was not of a national, Serbian, character. However, it was one of the main factors which influenced the uniting of all Christians of that territory, despite their ethnical belonging under the leadership of the Austrians to take part in war against the Ottoman invaders. Concretely that conflict united the Serbs, the Albanians, the Wallachians, and other Christians of this territory. Proceeding from this we may say that the migration that followed the defeat of the Austrians by the Turks naturally included all ethnoses of the present territory of Kosova who took part in this war alongside the Austrians.

The quite large number of heads of families who figure as immigrants in the Turkish registers and who lived in the villages of the present territory of Kosova in the 15th-16th century, explains why that territory

50 Dušan J. Popović, *Velika Seoba Srba*, pp. 26-28.

was more densely populated. The geographical factor has also had an influence in its density. Stojan Novaković⁵¹ has studied the density of population there during the period of mediaeval Serbia. He reached the conclusion that the present territory of Kosova was among the most populated territories of mediaeval Serbia. Jovan Cvijić, who has also studied this problem, has observed that the aforementioned territory was densely inhabited till the time of the Kosova battle (1489).⁵² That this observation has not basis can be proved by the fact that the said territory was one of the most populated territories in the 15th century too. Thus, for example, in 1491, in all European Turkey only the Elbasan sandjak⁵³ was more densely populated than that of Vučitrn. This means that of all European regions which were under the Turkish occupation, Kosova in 1491 came second after the Elbasan sandjak.

This shows that the conclusion drawn by Cvijić and his supporters that after the Kosova battle masses of Serbians migrated from the present territory of Kosova to the north, while Albanians migrated from Albania to this territory, can not be proved scientifically. Such a process of migration did not occur until the end of the 16th century, which is proved by the data of the Turkish registers on the immigrant heads of families of the 15th-16th centuries, because if there had been migrations of the Albanian population from Albania to the present territory of Kosova during that period, without doubt most of the immigrant heads of families in the Turkish registers would have characteristic Albanian names. In other words, the names of such elements called immigrants would coincide or be very similar to the names in the Albanian regions where they had allegedly come

51 S. Novaković, *Selo*, pp. 200-203.

52 J. Cvijić, *Osnove za geografiju i geologiju Makedonije i Stare Srbije*, 1911, pp. 1194-1195.

53 B. Hrabak, *Poljoprivredna proizvodnja...*, p. 36.

from. All that has been said until now convincingly proves that the widespread opinion in up-to-date historiography that the Ottoman invasion of the present territory of Kosova changed the direction of the migrations, that is, the north-south migrations of the period before the battle of Kosova in 1389 change to south-north direction after that battle cannot be accepted. The Ottoman documents, especially those of the Turkish registers quoted here, allow us to make the observation that the direction of migrations probably continued in the north-south direction, though not on a large scale, i.e., it did not have a mass character, but an individual one.

HIVZI ISLAMI

Prishtina

ANTHROPOGEOGRAPHIC RESEARCH IN KOSOVA*

**An aperçu on the work «Kosovo» by Academician
Atanasije Urošević**

In the past research on Kosova's history, ethnography and anthropogeography was conducted in circumstances of complete national inequality and all-round socio-economic, political and cultural exploitation and oppression on the part of the Great-Serb bourgeoisie to the detriment of the other ethnic strata, especially the Albanians, who were the most oppressed people in the Balkans, the victims of constant terror and even impending genocide. Apart from measures of a mainly political character against some ethnic groups, especially the Albanians and the Macedonians, the former regime also resorted to forms of the ideo-scientific superstructure

* Extract from «Albanological Research», Series of historical sciences I — 1971, Prishtina 1972, pp. 115-158. Only the parts connected with the theme of this publication have been taken from this paper.

to keep up its hegemonic claims. Indeed the origin of the geopolitical denomination of Stara Srbija for Kosova, which, as we shall see, has not been abandoned to this day, must be sought here. In order to implant the denomination «Stara Srbija», as well as to deny and falsify the ethnic past of the Albanians, of their history and autochthony, as well as to glorify Serb history at the expense of Albanian history by means of a vulgar and speculating politicism based on sophistical and fictitious hypotheses, apart from other sciences, geography, and especially anthropogeography, was called on to play a special role under the manipulation of certain anthropographers who continue their former propaganda and political activity to this day.

In this direction, the central part of the Balkans, that is, Kosova and the regions bordering it, which has a very motley and complex ethnic structure, is the field in which more detailed anthropogeographic research has been conducted. This research was initiated by the known geographical school of an anthropogeographic direction founded by the Serb geographer Jovan Cvijić. He has written a great number of geographical, geomorphological and anthropogeographical studies on diverse geographical problems of the Balkans. Besides, in the context of the anthropogeographic school, he has also founded the known series of publications *Naselja i poreklo stanovništva*, for which a broad circle of researchers was engaged. Only during Cvijić's life this school published about 25 anthropogeographical works (they amount to 40 today) which present the results of anthropogeographical research in the different parts of the Balkans, especially in Serbia. Dozens of materials have been published on Old Serbia (Kosova. I.H.) and the bordering territories inhabited by Albanians.

Many geographers have dealt with the anthropogeographical problems of the different regions of Yugoslavia and Serbia in particular, while such authors as Jovan Cvijić, Atanasije Urošević, Jovan Trifunovski, Mili-

sav Lutovac, Milenko Filipović, Andrija Jovičević, Vojislav Radovanović, Rista Nikolić, Milovan Radovanović, Mirko Bajraktarević and many others have written about the ethnically mixed regions with a mainly Albanian population, like Kosova, Western and Eastern Macedonia, the southern part of Montenegro, the bordering regions of Preševa and Bujanovci, Jablanica and others. Those and similar problems have aroused the interest of historians, ethnographers and diplomats such as, among others, Jovan Hadji Vasilević, Vladan Djorđević, Stojan Protić (Balcanicus), Todor Stanković, Jovan Tomić, Spiridon Gopčević, Ivan Ivanivć, Branislav Nušić, Tatomir Vukanović, and others.

The building of a complex and well argued system of knowledge about the objective reality of a given period presupposes, apart from the application of a particular method of research, also objectivity and a sense of responsibility on the part of the researcher. Have these fundamental principles of scientific research been observed in the publications on these problems before and after the war? Before the war all the geographers, historians and ethnographers who have written about these regions, especially Kosova and its Albanian inhabitants in general, have almost all without exception been tendentious and biased and thereby served the interests of the ruling bourgeoisie, not scientific truth.¹ In other words, they have served the former regime in the realization of its hegemonic policy by denying the autochthony of the Albanians and, in general, neglecting their history and despising their culture... Many researchers who conducted their work in an un-scientific and biased way before the war, after the war continued their activity in the same spirit, which

1 G. Vidanović, *Osvert na studiju M. Krasničija, Savremene društvenogeografske promene na Kosovu i Metohiji*, Priština 1963, Zbornik radova Vise ekonomsko-komercijalne škole, knj. I. Peč 1964.

has nothing to do with the principles of scientific work we mentioned above.

Academician Atanasije Urošević is born and has lived in Kosova and in the «southern regions» and has a first-hand experience of things Albanian, which does not prevent him from distorting them in an un-scientific manner, thereby creating a harmful state of misinformation in science and public opinion. After the Second World War, too, Dr. Atanasije Urošević has written a great number of anthropogeographical works which do not differ from what he has written before the war. As he himself says, 'one of his main works is «Kosova», a publication of the Serb Academy of Sciences and Arts in the series «Naselja i prorekla stanovništva,» Beograd, 1965, p. 387 about which we shall speak below. Although criticism must be as short and as constructive as possible, the spirit of the above publication is such as to call for a broader and more detailed analysis, because it is subjective and tendentious from top to bottom in everything connected with the Albanians. Up till now this monography has been criticized by Tatomir Vukanović,² Shukri Rahimi³ and the author of this article⁴ when occasionally dealing with this problem.

After the Second World War, Academician Urošević has continued his studies in the same spirit as before the war — putting forward without any argumentation his old theories which have been buried by time and the reality.

2 T. P. Vukanović, *Povodom knjige A. Oroševića, «Kosovo» o ovom problemu*, Vranjski Glasnik, II, 1966, pp. 219-237.

3 Sh. Rahimi, *On the work «Kosovo» by Prof. Urošević, «Jehona»* 4-5/19-68, pp. 169-177.

4 H. Islami, *The Truth about the Albanians in some Anthropogeographical Works*, «Dituria», no. 1, Prishtina 1971, pp. 65-92.

Some historical points

In order to prop up his theses, which are also the theses of the former Serb bourgeoisie about Kosova, Dr. Urošević calls this region «Old Serbia» (pp. 22, 87, 379); he denies the autochthony of the Albanians and their contribution to the history of the Balkans and the peoples of Yugoslavia, because of the «great» ethnic disorders in Kosova since the XVIII century; and then «proves» that the Albanians were the privileged element during the whole time of the Turkish rule, etc. The problem of the origin of the Albanians will be dealt with in a separate place of our aperçu, whereas here we shall treat the history of the relations of the Albanians with the Ottoman Empire.

About the Austro-Turkish War of 1689-1690, Academician Urošević says that «the Austrians came to Kosova to assist the Serbs» (21), while «the Albanians not only did not support the Austrians but, as it seems, opposed them» (126). «The same situation repeated itself in the Second Austro-Turkish War of 1737» (21).

These theses, which have been supported by many anthropogeographers and some historians not only are devoid of all logic, but have also a clearly expressed propaganda character. They are refuted by the truth of history. The Serb historiography itself has admitted and proved the participation of the Albanians in the Second Austro-Turkish war together with the Serbs, and Austrian, Hungarian and even Italian historians prove the large-scale participation of the Albanians in the First Austro-Turkish war of 1689-1690 as well.

In the First Austro-Turkish war «large masses of Serbs and Albanians in Prishtina joined»⁵ the Austrian Army which was marching from Prokupla against the Turks. The powerful insurrectional movement of these three peoples then spreads from Kaçanik to Shkup, which

⁵ «Istorija naroda Jugoslavije», II, Beograd 1960, p. 707.

was liberated, and later envelops Prizren which at that time was the centre of many Albanian uprisings against the Turks⁶. At the head of this uprising was General Piccollomini on the Austrian side, Patriarch Arsenije III Cernojević on the Serb side, and the archbishop of Shkup, Pjetër Bogdani, on the Albanian side. According to Austrian, Hungarian and also Serbian documents the uprising was so broad and the participation of the Albanians so large that it involved about 20.000 Serb and Albanian fighters⁷.

So, as it is seen, the Albanians did not oppose the Austrian march. The Serbs were not the only ones to assist it as the author says, and as Austro-Hungarian documents and Serb historians themselves indicate, the Albanians have played an important role in supporting the Austrians. A letter (*litterae protectionales, Schützscheiben für die Reiziche Nation*) of King Leopold I to the peoples of Albania, Serbia, Bulgaria, Silistria, Illyria, Macedonia and other territories which called on them to rise against the Turks⁸, is addressed to the Albanian people in the first place — *imprising vero populo Albanensi*⁹. In this letter, as well as in another letter which

6 M. Kostić, *Prilozi istoriji srpsko-arbanaškog ustanka 1689-1690*, Arhiv za arbanašku starinu, jezik i etnologiju, II, Beograd 1924, pp. 11-18.

7 R. Gerba, *Die Kaiserlichen in Albanien*, Mitteilungen des k. k. Kriegsarchivs NF II Bad, Wien 1888, p. 148; M. Kostić, *Prilozi istoriji srpsko-arbanaškog ustanka 1680-1690*, pp. 11-18; M. Kostić, O. Ulozi franjeva Tome Raspasanovića u austroturskom ratu na kosovskom i ugarsko-erdeljskom frontu krajem 17 veka, «Istorijski glasnik» 3-4, 1957, p. 82; J. Radonić, *Rimska Kurija i juznoslovenske zemlje of 16 do 19 veka*, Beograd 1950, p. 402; A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba u Vojvodini*; Novi Sad 1929, p. 284; «Enciklopedija Jugoslavije 1 (A-Bosk)», Zagreb 1955, p. 155.

8 M. Kostić, O postanku i značenju tzv. *invitatorija Leopolda I balkanskim narodima od 6 aprila 1690*, «Istorijski časopis SAN II», Beograd 1951, p. 150.

9 *Haus-Hof-und Statsarchivs u Beču*, «Illyrico-Serbica»,

King Leopold I addressed to the Serb Patriarch Arsenije III Crnojević, the great authority of the Serb patriarch with the Albanians and Serbs of Rashka is particularly emphasized -*qua apud populos illarum partium, et imprimis Albanenses, et Rasciones polletis autoritate*¹⁰. Other sources also mention the Albanians with their patriarch as enemies of the Turks. Along with the participation of the Albanians in the above uprising, their patriarch, who is the true leader of the uprising, is also mentioned. On behalf of the people of the above regions, he is sent to Prishtina in order to obtain a safe conduct for Vienna where he should take the oath of allegiance to King Leopold I «I popoli di que' distretti, che osservavano i continuati progressi dell'Imperiali, e fra gli altri quelli dell'Albania, spedirono il loro Patriarcha a Pristina affine di ottenere passaporti per transferirsi a Vienna ad esibire a nome loro giuramento a Cesare di vassallaggio».¹¹

This Albanian patriarch, which is mentioned in the above sources, was Pjetër Bogdani, archbishop of Shkup since the year 1677, nephew and successor of Andrea Bogdani, archbishop of Ohër, whom Pope Alexander VII had placed in Shkup in 1656.¹²

Although both the Serbs and the Albanians gave great assistance to the Austrian Army in its war operations against the Turks, nevertheless, because of disorders in the relations between the local insurgents and the Austrians, after the death of Piccolomini, the Austrian

Fasz. I/16, II, 1937; J. Radonić-M. Kostić, *Srpske privilegije od 1690 do 1792*, Beograd 1954, p. 26, 89.

10 J. Rdonić-M. Kostić, *Srpske privilegije od 1690 do 1792*, p. 19, 90.

11. C. Contarini, *Istoria della guerra di Leopoldo, Primo imperadore e de princi collegati contro il Turco dall'anno 1683 fino alla pace*, in Venezia. 1710, Parte seconda, pp. 170-171.

12 M. Premrou, *Katolički nadbiskupi u Skoplju po Vatikan-skim izvorima*, Glasnik Srpskog naučnog društva, knj. I, sv. Skoplje 1926, p. 331, 332.

Army was defeated. Since then (January 1960) it began to retreat in front of the Turks in northern direction, and the Serbs and Albanians together with it. «While keeping their pressure on the Austrians, the Turks took horrible revenge on the defenceless population. From all parts came reports of the crimes of the Turks and Tartars and it was said that the Turks had killed all the Albanian prisoners... The Turks put everybody to the sword without distinction»¹³. As a result some Albanians of the Kelmendi tribe from Kosova, Macedonia and Sandjak (their patriarch is mentioned in foreign¹⁴ and our¹⁵ sources as the patriarch of the Kelmendi people) withdrew to the north, following the Austrian Army.¹⁶

Together with the Serbs, the Albanians, mainly from the Kelmendi tribe, took part also in the Second Austro-Turkish war of 1737-1739, which Academic Urošević tries to deny (pp. 21-126). However, this war, too, was not successful for the Austrians, so the insurgents had to flee again before the Turks to the north, and together with them there was a group of Albanians who established themselves in Srem and who later would regroup themselves in the settlements Nikinci, Hertovci, Jarak and others between the Sava and Shabac¹⁷.

13 *Istorija naroda Jugoslavije*, II, p. 1043.

14 M. E. von Angeli, *Die kaiserliche Armee unter dem Ober-Commando des Markgrafen Ludwig von Baden in den Feldzügen 1689-1692 gegen die Turken*, Mitteilungen des k.k. Kriegsarchivs, II Jgh., Wien, 1878, p. 178.

15 K. Protić, *Odiomci iz istorije Beograda (1689-1717)*, Godišnjica N. Čupića, IV Beograd 1884, p. 158.

16 M. Kostić, *Prilozi istoriji srpsko-arbanaškog ustanka 1689-1690*, pp. 11-18.

17 M. Kostić, *Ustamak Srba i Arbanaša u Staroj Srbiji protiv turaka 1737-1739*, i seoba u Ugarsku, Glasnik Srpskog naučnog društva, knj. VII-VIII, Skoplje 1930; M. Kostić, *Prilog za istoriju emigracionog pokreta iz Stare Srbije god. 1737*, «Južna Srbija», IV, 1923, pp. 970-972; M. Kostić, *Arnautsko naselje u Sremu*; «Južna Srbija», III, 1923, pp. 273-279.

All the facts speak against the thesis of the author that the *Albanians established themselves for the first time in these regions after the Austro-Turkish war of 1689-1690.*

As history has it, the Albanians together with the Serbs and others rose against the Turks also in the Battle of Kosova of 1389, in which, among others, many Albanians were killed¹⁸.

Origin and ancient character of the Albanian population in Kosova and in the bordering regions.

In order to justify its hegemonistic claims, the Serb bourgeoisie has, through its authors, tried to apply the geopolitical denomination of Stara Srbija to Kosova, a denomination which does not exist either among the Albanian or the Serb population there. Academician Urošević supports this not ethnographical, but political denomination, indeed he claims out that «Stara Srbija» exists as a region! (22, 87, 379, etc.).

The former Yugoslav state, through bourgeois science and, especially, bourgeois geography, has come out with the theory according to which there were no Albanians in Kosova and in the territories in which they live today, before the XVII and XVIII centuries, that is before the First (1689-1690) and the Second (1737-1739) Austro-Turkish War. Many bourgeois scientists and many followers of the anthropogeographical school have supported this theory of Jovan Cvijić. However, the most ardent supporters of this theory were and continue to be the anthropogeographers, ethnographers and historians of the post-war period such as Jovan Trifunovski, Milenko Filipović, Milisav Lutovac, Atanasije Urošević, and others. This thesis was worked out and «documented» mainly by Academician Urošević. According to him, the Albanians have come to Kosova and the bordering regions only after the Second Austro-Turkish war (1737-1739) (21,

18 *History of the Albanian People*, I, Prishtina 1966, p. 222.

70, 77, 81 and ff.) thereby populating a region which had turned into a «desert» after the exodus of the Serbs from these regions to the north (21, 25, 71, 92 and ff.).

To argue his point Academician Urošević bases himself mainly on distorted popular legends and on propagandistic-political literature, not on objective historical sources or documents. The author wants to draw historical conclusions from his talks with old men and women. It is a known fact that the problem of the origin, the autochthony of allochthony of a people is a complex one, and that of the Albanians more so, taking account of the scantness of historical sources etc. However, no matter how scanty historical sources may be, still it is a fact that the ancient ethnic-geographical habitat of the Albanians has always been there where they live today. The former habitat of the Albanians may have been even larger, that is, «the territory of the present-day Albanians is not a region of expansion but rather of restriction»¹⁹. So we shall mention only some of the many historical, archaeological and linguistic sources which prove this fact. There are even documents from the Middle Ages, although this period is the poorest in regard to historical and other documents.

According to Academician Urošević, the Albanian people in the Balkans is a «huge, though latent, demographic reservoir» which has in different times flooded Kosova and the bordering regions. On the other hand, the borders of this reservoir «have been so clearly defined that the Albanians have never succeeded in expanding beyond them». He intentionally «forgets» that in pre-historical and historical times the forefathers of the Albanians — the Illyrian-Thracian tribes extend from Greece in the south to the Danube and Drava in the north, from Istria in the west to Bulgaria in the east, as evidenced by their material culture²⁰.

19 Z. Mirdita, *Problem etnogeneze Albanaca*, «Encyclopaedia moderna», Zagreb, ljeto 1970, p. 39.

20 A. Stipčević, *Gli Illiri*, Milano 1966.

In historical times Kosova and the bordering regions were included in the Illyrian province of Dardania²¹, and the Dardans, just as the other Illyrians,²² came under Roman rule. This, however, does not mean that the Illyrians, the forefathers of the Albanians,²³ were totally Romanized, as Academician Urošević claims; according to him, when they came to the Balkans, the Slavs found that the autochthonous population was totally Romanized, as the process of Romanization went on for about 600 years (68). So the impression is created that the Illyrians disappeared completely (69), since there is no mention of them until the XVIII century.

It is correct to say that with the coming of the Romans and Slavs, the Illyrians were subject to a powerful process of assimilation, but it is not correct to claim that they disappeared once and for all because otherwise their descendants — the present-day Albanians, would not exist. The question here is not about the process of Romanization which lasted six centuries, as the author says, but mainly about the Roman rule which lasted for just as many centuries. It is known that these regions were also under the 500 year long Turkish rule, but the Albanians did not become Turks, despite the attempts of the Turks to achieve this by violence. Only part of them embraced Islam, just as the Turks had done under the influence of the Arabs.

The coming of the Slavs to the Balkans did not bring about the disappearance of the Illyrians although their habitat shrank as a result of the arrival of the Slavs. The regions of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia and Macedonia were almost completely assimilated. «But in the regions of Southern Illyria, in the mountains of present-day Albania, Kosova, the Dukagjin Plateau (Me-

21 Jiriček-Radonić, *Istorija Srba*, knj. I, Beograd 1922, p. 255.

22 F. Papazoglu, *Srednjobalkanska plemena u predrimsko doba*, Sarajevo 1969, p. 103 and ff.

23 Z. Mirdita, *Problem etnogeneze albanaca*, p. 36.

tohia) and in some regions of Montenegro where the Slavs did not manage to penetrate, this population resisted Slav colonization. This Albanian-Slav co-existence went on for some centuries in succession²⁴. This means that the Albanians, despite their co-existence with the Slavs, have preserved their own ethnic character.

Outside the borders of the present-day Albanian State, the Albanians are mentioned in Serb juridical documents of the Middle Ages especially in the Cannon of *Czar Dušan*²⁵, the donations to some churches and monasteries in the XIII-XIV centuries, such as *Czar Stefan Vladislav* (1242), and *Queen Jelena's* donations to the monastery of Vranjina in the Shkodra Lake in 1296, or to the monasteries of Ahilevica and Tetova, or *Czar Dušan's* chrysobulls and donations to the monasteries of St. Michael and Gabriel (1348-1353) in Prizren, etc.²⁶ In the last document there is mention of the Albanians in the Dukagjin Plateau and in the region around Prizren and Drenica²⁷.

In the XIV century the Albanians are also mentioned in Kotor (Cataro) in the valleys of Sermnica to the northwest of the Shkodra Lake, in Stoc of Herzegovina, etc. This appears also in 1305 in the names of Albanian herdsmen like *burmadh*, as well as in many place names in Montenegro, like *Shingjon*, *Shekullare*, etc.²⁸

24 *History of the Albanian People*, I, p. 141.

25 S. Novaković, *Zakonik Stevana Dušana (1349-1354)*, Beograd 1870, cl. 180, quoted from A. Handžić, *Nekoliko vijesti o Arbanasima na Kosovu i Metohiji*, p. 201.

26 S. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, SKA, Beograd 1912, p. 578, 579, 580; 620; 692, 667, 688, 695, 697; 739; quoted from A. Handžić, *Nekoliko vijesti o Arbanasima*, p. 201.

27 *Hrisovulja cara Dušana kojom osniva manastir Sv. Arhangel Mihaila i Gavrila kod Prizrena 1348*, Glasnik Srpskog učnog društva, knj. XV, Beograd 1862, p. 289.

28 Y. C. Jireček, *Albanien in der Vergangenheit*, Oesterreich, Monatsschrift für den Orient, Jg. 40, no. 1/2, 17; from A. Handžić, *Nekoliko vijesti o Arbanasima*, p. 201.

In the chrysobull of 1330, Stefan Dečanski also mentions the Albanians in Kosova and other places with Albanian names like *Uzmir* for the present-day *Dobra Voda*²⁹.

Many topographical names, which as noted before, are also used as geographical names, or botanical and zoological terms, also prove the existence of the Albanians in the regions formerly inhabited by the Illyrians. Linguistic science has demonstrated this, too³⁰.

«Prizren and Shkup became the main centres of the Serb Empire of Stefan Dušan. The Serb feudal lords had by now strengthened their positions both in Kosova and Macedonia. However, although the process of Serb colonization encouraged by the Serb State assumed broad proportions in those regions, the Albanian population continued to resist this pressure. The documents more often mention not only Albanian herdsmen migrating from the mountains to the plains, but also Albanian serfs and even whole Albanian villages. Such Albanian villages or individual serfs were donated by the Serb Kings, Stefan Dušan in particular, to the monasteries of Prizren, Dečan (near Peja), Tetova, etc. We find traces of Albanians as far away as Presheva, Shkup and Shtip...»³¹

...That the author's claims about the non-existence of the Albanians in Kosova and the bordering regions are inconsistent both from the historical and scientific standpoint is also seen from some recent publications. Thus, at the *Symposium on Scanderbeg* held in Prishtina in 1968, Adem Handžić from Sarajevo, based on a Turkish document of the census of 1455³², proves in detail the existence of the Albanian element in the

29 Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva, knj. XVI, 278.

30 I. Popović, *Notes on Geographical Names in the Albanian Regions*, p. 208, and ff.

31 *History of the Albanian People I*, p. 193.

32 *Istambul, Basbanlik Arşivi, Tapu defter*, No. 2 mm.

second half of the XV century and the continuity of the Albanians in those regions³³.

It is interesting to note that, in this document, the Albanians appear to live in five regions, or *nahiyes* of Kosova, which are *Dolac* (between the Dukagjin Plateau and Drenica), *Vuçitern* (the middle part of the Kosova Plain), *Morava* (the regions of Gjilan and Ferizaj the *Vilayet of Prishtina* and the *Nahiye of Llap* (the region of Llap or Small Kosova). In more than 80 villages of these *nahiyes*, the Albanians appear in the census registers with their own typically Albanian names: Gjon, Gjini, Llesh, Nikoshin, etc..., and for some villages, along with the personal name the note *arbanas* (from *arbër*, as the Albanians called themselves in the Middle Ages) is also added.³⁴

...In the Middle Ages all the Albanians were, with a few exceptions, of Roman catholic religion, so they had their own catholic churches. As is known, there were such churches in Novobërda, Janjeva, Bello Bërda, Trepça, etc. In the XV century in Novobërda for example, there were three churches with priests whose names are clearly Albanian.³⁵ Jireček mentions the names of some Albanian priests in Novo Bërda.³⁶

In another place Jireček says that the Albanians lived in those territories before the arrival of the Turks, during the reign of Czar Dušan³⁷.

...The catholic missionaries sent by the Pope to

33 A. Handžić, *Nekoliko vijesti o Arbanasima sredinom 15 vijeka*, pp. 201-209.

34 E. Çabej, *On the Genesis of the Albanian Literature*, pp. 12-22.

35 M. Dinić, *Za istoriju rudarstva II*, pp. 92-95.

36 Y. C. Jireček, *Albanien in der Vergangenheit*, Oesterreich, Monatsschrift für den Orient, p. 17.

37 Y. C. Jireček, *Die Rommanen in den Städten Dalmatiens während des Mittelalters*, III, Wien, 1912; quoted from J. Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo*, I, Beograd 1922, p. 258.

Albania in the first half of the XVII century also mention in their relations not only many villages but also such important towns as Prizren (Prizrendi, Presereni), Gjakova, Peja, Shkupi and others which had (and still have) a great number of Albanians³⁸.

In a report of 1623, the apostolic missionary, Pjetër Mazreku, writes that «Prizren has 12.000 Moslem inhabitants... almost all Albanian. There are 200 Albanian catholics and... 600 Serbs»³⁹. Further on Pjetër Mazreku points out that under Turkish pressure more than 3000 catholics had gone over to Islam from 1619 to 1623⁴⁰. These catholics were all Albanian.

The Turkish geographer Hadji Kalfa, who travelled through these regions in the second half of the XVII century, also writes that «in this city (Prizren) (H.I.) all the inhabitants are Albanian»⁴¹.

Apart from occasional travellers, Kosova was also visited by Albanian religious personalities for purposes of religious collaboration and propaganda. Thus, for example, in 1638, on the occasion of his visit in the regions of Kosova, the archbishop of Tivar, Gjergj Bardhi writes that «these regions are Albanian and their inhabitants speak Albanian»⁴².

In a report presented to Propaganda Fide in 1652, the Albanian bishop, Pjetër Mazreku, also, notes that these regions were inhabited by Albanians. They worked,

38 *History of the Albanian People*, I, p. 366.

39 K. Draganović, *Izvjeste apostolskog vizitatora Petra Masarechija o prilikama katolickog naroda u Bugarskoj, Srbiji, Srijemu, Slavoniji i Bosni g. 1623 i 1624*. Starine JAZU knj. XXXIX, Zagreb 1938, p. 28.

40 K. Draganović, *ibidem*, p. 28.

41 S. Novaković, *Hadži Kalfa Catib-Čelebija, turski geograf 17 veka o Balkanskom poluostrvu*, Spomenik Srpske kraljevske akademije, XVIII, Beograd 1892, p. 36.

42 *History of the Albanian People*, p. 367.

he writes, as unskilled workers in the mines of Serbia.⁴³

...Further on, the present place name *Arbanska* for the villages to the south-east of *Kurshumli* does not originate from the XVIII century as is generally thought, but from earlier times, when the Turks established themselves in these regions,⁴⁴ which is proved by the continuity of the existence of the Albanians within the present borders of Kosova, and which, as said above, is historically evidenced.

The well-known Turkish traveller of the XVII century Evlia Celebi, writes, among other things, about Vuçitern: «The people of this town do not know the Bosnia language, but speak Albanian...»⁴⁵

The report of Pjetër Bogdani, the archbishop of Shkodra and later Shkup, addressed to the Propaganda Fide in Rome in 1662, with the request that more friars should be sent to the Black Mountains of Shkup and Kosova for the Albanians of catholic religion also proves that the Albanians lived in these regions before the First Austro-Turkish war of 1689.

Finally, we come to another «scientific problem». The author claims that with the flight to the north of the Serbs together with the Austrians to escape the Turks Kosova «has been drained of its inhabitants», and that this «demographic vacuum» had allegedly been filled by the Albanians! So according to the author, the «delicate problem» is that there were no Albanians in Kosova and the surrounding regions before and between 1690 and 1739 and even 1878! Apart from the data brought here there are also other facts which refute these altogether sophistical and fictitious arguments: the mass participation of the Albanians, about 6000 men in Prishtina alone and about 20.000 Serbs and Albanians in the First

43 Ibidem, p. 365.

44 A. Handžić, *Nekoliko vijesti o Arbanasima*, p. 207.

45 E. Čelebija, *Putopis*, knj. II, Sarajevo 1957, p. 25.

Austro Turkish War of 1689-1693⁴⁶ as well as in the Second Austro-Turkish War of 1737-1739,⁴⁷ which were dealt with above. On the other hand, the historically-proven participation of the Albanians in these wars also evidences the autochthony of the Albanians in Kosova and in the surrounding regions...

46 See note 24.

47 See note 18.

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